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THE
WORKS
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D. D.
DEAN OF ST PATRICK'S, DUBLIN ;

CONTAINING
ADDITIONAL LETTERS, TRACTS, AND POEMS,
NOT HITHERTO PUBLISHED ;

WITH
NOTES,
AND
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,
BY
WALTER SCOTT, ESQ.

VOLUME VI.

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TRACTS,
HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL
DURING THE
REIGN OF ANNE.

VOL. VI.

A

AN
INQUIRY
INTO THE BEHAVIOUR OF
THE QUEEN'S LAST MINISTRY,

WITH RELATION TO THEIR QUARRELS AMONG THEMSELVES, AND THE
DESIGN CHARGED UPON THEM OF ALTERING THE SUCCESSION OF
THE CROWN.

WRITTEN IN JUNE, 1715.

SINCE the death of the queen, it was reasonable enough for me to conclude that I had done with all publick affairs and speculations : besides, the scene and station I am in, have reduced my thoughts into a narrow compass : and being wholly excluded from any view of favour under the present administration, upon that invincible reason of having been in some degree of trust and confidence with the former, I have not found the transition very difficult into a private life, for which I am better qualified, both by nature and education.

The reading of, and inquiring after news, not being one of my diversions, having always disliked a mixed and general conversation, which, however it fell to my lot, is now in my power to avoid ; and being placed, by the duties of my function, at a great distance from the seat of

business, I am altogether ignorant of many common events which happen in the world: only, from the little I know and hear, it is manifest that the hearts of most men are filled with doubts, fears, and jealousies, or else with hatred and rage, to a degree that there seems to be an end of all amicable commerce between people of different parties; and what the consequences of this may be, let those consider who have contributed to the causes: which, I thank God, is no concern of mine.

There are two points, with reference to the conduct of the late ministry, much insisted on, and little understood by those who write or talk upon that subject; wherein I am sufficiently qualified to give satisfaction; and would gladly do it, because I see very much weight laid upon each, and most men's opinions of persons and things, regulated accordingly.

About two months before the queen's death, having lost all hopes of any reconciliation between the treasurer and the rest of the ministry, I retired into the country, to await the issue of that conflict, which ended, as every one had reason to foresee, in the earl of Oxford's disgrace; to whom the lord Bolingbroke immediately succeeded as first minister: and I was told, that an earldom and the garter were intended for him in a fortnight, and the treasurer's staff against the next session of parliament: of which I can say nothing certain, being then in Berkshire, and receiving this account from some of his friends. But all these schemes became soon abortive, by the death of the queen, which happened in three days after the earl of Oxford's removal.

Upon this great event, I took the first opportunity of withdrawing to my place of residence;

and rejoiced as much as any man for his majesty's quiet accession to the throne, to which I then thought, and it has since appeared indisputable, that the peace procured by the late ministry had, among other good effects, been highly instrumental. And I thank God, I have been ever since a loyal humble spectator, during all the changes that have happened, although it were no secret to any man of common sagacity, that his present majesty's choice of his servants, whenever he should happen to succeed, would be determined to those, who most opposed the proceedings during the four last years of his predecessor's reign: and I think, there has not since happened one particular of any moment, which the ministers did not often mention at their tables, as what they certainly expected, from the disposition of the court at Hanover, in conjunction with the party at home; which, upon all occasions, publicly disapproved their proceedings, excepting only the attainder of the duke of Ormond; which, indeed, neither they nor I, nor, I believe, any one person in the three kingdoms, did ever pretend to foresee; and now it is done, it looks like a dream, to those who consider the nobleness of his birth, the great merits of his ancestors, and his own; his long unspotted loyalty, his affability, generosity, and sweetness of nature. I knew him long and well; and excepting the frailties of his youth, which had been for some years over, and that easiness of temper, which did sometimes lead him to follow the judgment of those, who had, by many degrees, less understanding than himself, I have not conversed with a more faultless person; of great justice and charity; a true sense of religion, without ostentation; of undoubted valour, thoroughly skilled in his trade of a soldier; a quick

and ready apprehension, with a good share of understanding, and a general knowledge in men and history; although under some disadvantage by an invincible modesty, which, however, could not but render him yet more amiable to those, who had the honour and happiness of being thoroughly acquainted with him. This is a short imperfect character of that great person the duke of Ormond, who is now attainted for high treason; and therefore, I shall not presume to offer one syllable in his vindication, upon that head, against the decision of a parliament. Yet this, I think, may be allowed me to believe, or at least to hope, that when, by the direct and repeated commands of the queen his mistress, he committed those faults, for which he has now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune, he no more conceived himself to be acting high treason, than he did when he was wounded and a prisoner at Landen, for his sovereign king William, or when he took and burned the enemy's fleet at Vigo.

Upon this occasion, although I am sensible it is an old precept of wisdom to admire at nothing in human life; yet I consider, at the same time, how easily some men arrive at the practice of this maxim, by the help of plain stupidity or ill nature, without any strain of philosophy: and although the uncertainty of human things, be one of the most obvious reflections in morality; yet such unexpected, sudden, and signal instances of it, as have lately happened among us, are so much out of the usual form, that a wise man may perhaps be allowed to start and look aside, as at a sudden and violent clap of thunder, which is much more frequent, and more natural.

And here I cannot but lament my own parti-

cular misfortune ; who, having singled out three persons from among the rest of mankind, on whose friendship and protection I might depend, whose conversation I most valued, and chiefly confined myself to, should live to see them all, within the compass of a year, accused of high treason ; two of them attainted and in exile, and the third under his trial, whereof God knows what may be the issue. As my own heart was free from all treasonable thoughts, so I did little imagine myself to be perpetually in the company of traitors. But the fashion of this world passeth away. Having already said something of the duke of Ormond, I shall add a little toward the characters of the other two. It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world with so many advantages of nature and fortune, as ~~the late secretary~~ Bolingbroke : descended from the best families in England, heir to a great patrimonial estate, of a sound constitution, and a most graceful, amiable person : but all these, had they been of equal value, were infinitely inferior in degree to the accomplishments of his mind, which was adorned with the choicest gifts that God has yet thought fit to bestow upon the children of men ; a strong memory, a clear judgment, a vast range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehension, an invincible eloquence, with a most agreeable elocution. He had well cultivated all these talents by travel and study ; the latter of which, he seldom omitted even in the midst of his pleasures, of which he had indeed been too great and criminal a pursuer : for, although he was persuaded to leave off intemperance in wine, which he did, for some time, to such a degree that he seemed rather abstemious ; yet he was said to allow himself other li-

berties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals ; whereof I have reason to believe, he began to be sensible. But he was fond of mixing pleasure and business, and of being esteemed excellent at both ; upon which account, he had a great respect for the characters of Alcibiades and Petronius, especially the latter, whom he would be gladly thought to resemble. His detractors charged him with some degree of affectation, and, perhaps, not altogether without grounds ; since it was hardly possible for a young man, with half the business of the nation upon him, and the applause of the whole, to escape some tincture of that infirmity. He had been early bred to business, was a most artful negotiator, and perfectly understood foreign affairs. But what I have often wonder'd at, in a man of his temper, was, his prodigious application whenever he thought it necessary ; for he would plod whole days and nights, like the lowest clerk in an office. His talent of speaking in publick, for which he was so very much celebrated, I know nothing of, except from the informations of others ; but understanding men of both parties have assured me, that, in this point, in their memory and judgment, he was never equalled.

The earl of Oxford, is a person of as much virtue, as can possibly consist with the love of power ; and his love of power is no greater than what is common to men of his superior capacities ; neither did any man ever appear to value it less after he had obtained it, or exert it with more moderation. He is the only instance that ever fell within my memory or observation, of a person passing from a private life, through the several stages of greatness, without any perceivable impression upon his

temper or behaviour. As his own birth was illustrious, being descended from the heirs general of the Veres and the Mortimers, so he seemed to value that accidental advantage in himself and others, more than it could pretend to deserve. He abounded in good nature and good humour; although subject to passion, as I have heard it affirmed by others, and owned by himself; which, however, he kept under the strictest government, till toward the end of his ministry, when he began to grow soured, and to suspect his friends; and, perhaps, thought it not worth his pains to manage any longer. He was a great favourer of men of wit and learning, particularly the former; whom he caressed without distinction of party, and could not endure to think that any of them should be his enemies: and it was his good fortune that none of them ever appeared to be so; at least if one may judge by the libels and pamphlets published against him, which he frequently read, by way of amusement, with a most unaffected indifference: neither do I remember ever to have endangered his good opinion so much, as by appearing uneasy, when the dealers in that kind of writing first began to pour out their scurrilities against me; which he thought was a weakness altogether inexcusable in a man of virtue and liberal education. He had the greatest variety of knowledge that I have any where met with; was a perfect master of the learned languages, and well skilled in divinity. He had a prodigious memory, and a most exact judgment. In drawing up any state-paper, no man had more proper thoughts, or put them in so strong and clear a light. Although his style were not always correct, which, however, he knew how to mend; yet often, to save time, he would leave

the smaller alterations to others. I have heard that he spoke but seldom in parliament, and then rather with art than eloquence: but no man equalled him in the knowledge of our constitution; the reputation whereof made him be chosen speaker to three successive parliaments; which office, I have often heard his enemies allow him to have executed with universal applause; his sagacity was such, that I could produce very amazing instances of it, if they were not unseasonable. In all difficulties, he immediately found the true point that was to be pursued, and adhered to it: and one or two others in the ministry have confessed very often to me, that after having condemned his opinion, they found him in the right, and themselves in the wrong. He was utterly a stranger to fear; and consequently had a presence of mind upon all emergencies. His liberality and contempt of money were such, that he almost ruined his estate while he was in employment; yet his avarice for the public was so great, that it neither consisted with the present corruptions of the age, nor the circumstances of the time. He was seldom mistaken in his judgment of men, and therefore not apt to change a good or ill opinion, by the representation of others; except toward the end of his ministry. He was affable and courteous, extremely easy and agreeable in conversation, and altogether disengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety; nor ever guilty of any expressions that could possibly tend to what was indecent or profane. His imperfections were at least as obvious, although not so numerous, as his virtues. He had an air of secrecy in his manner and countenance, by no means proper for a great minister, because it warns all men to prepare against it. He often

gave no answer at all, and very seldom a direct one: and I rather blame this reservedness of temper, because I have known a very different practice succeed much better: of which, among others, the late earl of Sunderland, and the present lord Somers, persons of great abilities, are remarkable instances; who used to talk in so frank a manner, that they seemed to discover the bottom of their hearts, and, by that appearance of confidence, would easily unlock the breasts of others. But the earl of Oxford pleads, in excuse of this charge, that he has seldom or never communicated any thing which was of importance to be concealed, wherein he has not been deceived by the vanity, treachery, or indiscretion of those he discovered it to. Another of his imperfections, universally known and complained of, was procrastination, or delay: which was, doubtless, natural to him, although he often bore the blame without the guilt, and when the remedy was not in his power; for never were prince and minister better matched, than his sovereign and he, upon that article: and therefore, in the disposal of employments, wherein the queen was very absolute, a year would often pass before they could come to a determination. I remember he was likewise heavily charged with the common court vice, of promising very liberally, and seldom performing; of which, although I cannot altogether acquit him, yet, I am confident, his intentions were generally better, than his disappointed solicitors would believe. It may be likewise said of him, that he certainly did not value, or did not understand, the art of acquiring friends; having made very few during the time of his power, and contracted a great number of enemies. Some of us used to observe,

that those whom he talked well of, or suffered to be often near him, were not in a situation of much advantage; and that his mentioning others with contempt or dislike, was no hinderance at all to their preferment. I have dwelt the longer upon this great man's character, because I have observed it so often mistaken by the wise reasoners of both parties: besides, having had the honour, for almost four years, of a nearer acquaintance with him than usually happens to men of my level, and this without the least mercenary obligation, I thought it lay in my power, as I am sure it is in my will, to represent him to the world with impartiality and truth.

Having often considered the qualities and dispositions of these two ministers, I am at a loss to think how it should come to pass, that men of exalted abilities, when they are called to publick affairs, are generally drawn into inconveniences and misfortunes, which others, of ordinary talents, avoid; whereof there appear so many examples both ancient and modern, and of our own, as well as other countries. I cannot think this to have been altogether the effect of envy, as it is usually imputed in the case of Themistocles, Aristides, Scipio, and others; and of sir Walter Raleigh, the earls of Clarendon and Strafford, here in England. But I look upon it, that God, intending the government of a nation in the several branches and subordinations of power, has made the science of governing sufficiently obvious to common capacities: otherwise the world would be left in a desolate condition, if great affairs did always require a great genius, whereof the most fruitful age will hardly produce above three or four in a nation; among which, princes, who, of all other mortals are the worst educated,

have twenty millions to one against them that they shall not be of the number; and proportionable odds, for the same reasons, are against every one of noble birth, or great estates.

Accordingly we find, that the dullest nations, ancient and modern, have not wanted good rules of policy, or persons qualified for administration. But I take the infelicity of such extraordinary men, to have been caused by their neglect of common forms, together with the contempt of little helps and little hindrances; which is made, by Hobbes, the definition of magnanimity: and this contempt, as it certainly displeases the people in general, so it gives offence to all with whom such ministers have to deal: for I never yet knew a minister, who was not earnestly desirous to have it thought, that the art of government was a most profound science; whereas, it requires no more in reality, than diligence, honesty, and a moderate share of plain natural sense. And therefore men, thus qualified, may very reasonably and justly think, that the business of the world is best brought about by regularity and forms, wherein themselves excel. For I have frequently observed more causes of discontent arise, from the practice of some refined ministers, to act in common business out of the common road, than from all the usual topicks of displeasure against men in power. It is the same thing in other scenes of life, and among all societies or communities; where no men are better trusted, or have more success in business, than those, who, with some honesty, and a moderate portion of understanding, are strict observers of time, place, and method: and on the contrary, nothing is more apt to expose men to the censure and obloquy of their colleagues and the

publick, than a contempt or neglect of these circumstances, however attended with a superiour genius and an equal desire of doing good : which has made me sometimes say, to a great person of this latter character, that a small infusion of the alderman was necessary to those who are employed in publick affairs. Upon this occasion I cannot forget a very trifling instance : that one day, observing the same person to divide a sheet of paper with a penknife, the sharpness of the instrument occasioned its moving so irregularly and crooked, that he spoiled the whole sheet ; whereupon I advised him to take example by his clerks, who performed that operation much better with a blunt piece of ivory, which, directed by a little strength and a steady hand, never failed to go right.

But to return from this long digression ; about a fortnight after the queen's death, I came to my place of residence, where I was immediately attacked with heat enough by several of my acquaintance of both parties ; and soon learned, that what they objected was the general sense of the rest. Those of the church-side made me a thousand reproaches upon the slowness and inactivity of my friends, upon their foolish quarrels with each other for no visible cause, and thereby sacrificing the interests of the church and kingdom to their private piques ; and that they had neglected to cultivate the favour and good opinion of the court at Hanover. But the weight of these gentlemen's displeasure fell upon the earl of Oxford : " That he had acted a trimming part ; was never thoroughly in the interest of the church, but held separate commerce with the adverse party : that either from his negligence, procrastinating nature, or some sinister end, he had let slip many

opportunities of strengthening the church's friends; that he undertook more business than he was equal to, affected a monopoly of power, and would concert nothing with the rest of the ministers." Many facts were likewise mentioned, which it may not now be very prudent to repeat: I shall only take notice of one, relating to Ireland, where he kept four bishopricks undisposed of, though often and most earnestly pressed to have them filled; by which omission, the church-interest of that kingdom in the house of lords, is in danger of being irrecoverably lost.

Those who discoursed with me after this manner, did, at the same time, utterly renounce all regard for the Pretender; and mentioned with pleasure the glorious opportunity then in his majesty's hands, of putting an end to party distinctions for the time to come: and the only apprehension that seemed to give them any uneasiness, was, lest the zeal of the party in power might not, perhaps, represent their loyalty with advantage.

On the other side, the gainers, and men in hopes by the queen's death, talked with great freedom in a very different style: they all directly asserted, "That the whole late ministry were fully determined to bring in the Pretender," although they would sometimes a little demur upon the Earl of Oxford; and by a more modern amendment, they charged the same accusation, without any reserve, upon the late queen herself. "That, if her majesty had died but a month later, our ruin would have been inevitable." But in that juncture it happened (to use their own term, which I could never prevail with them to explain) things were not ripe. "That this accusation would, in a short time, infallibly be proved as clear as the

sun at noonday to all the world." And the consequences naturally following from these positions were, "That the leaders ought to lose their heads, and all their abettors be utterly stripped of power and favour."

These being the sentiments and discourses of both parties, tending to load the late ministry with faults of a very different nature; it may, perhaps, be either of some use, or satisfaction, to examine those two points; that is to say, first, how far these ministers are answerable to their friends, for their neglect, mismanagement, and mutual dissensions: and secondly, with what justice they are accused, by their enemies, for endeavouring to alter the succession of the crown in favour of the Pretender.

It is true, indeed, I have occasionally done this already in two several treatises, of which the one is a History,* and the other, *Memoirs*† of particular facts, but neither of them fit to see the light at present; because they abound with characters freely drawn, and many of them not very amiable; and, therefore, intended only for the instructing of the next age, and establishing the reputation of those who have been useful to their country in the present. At the same time, I take this opportunity of assuring those who may happen some years hence to read the history I have written, that the blackest characters to be met with in it, were not drawn with the least mixture of malice or ill-will, but merely to expose the odiousness of vice; for I have always held it as a maxim, that ill men are placed beyond the reach

* Of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne.

† Relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry in 1710.

of an historian, who indeed has it in his power to reward virtue, but not to punish vice; because I never yet saw a profligate person, who seemed to have the least regard in what manner his name should be transmitted to posterity; and I knew a certain lord,* not long since dead, who, I am very confident, would not have disposed of one single shilling to have had it in his choice, whether he should be represented to future ages, as an Atticus, or a Catiline.

However, being firmly resolved, for very material reasons, to avoid giving the least offence to any party or person in power; I shall barely set down some facts and circumstances, during the four last years of Queen Anne's reign, which at present are little known; and whereby those of the church party, who object against the unsteadiness, neglect, and want of concert, in the late ministry, may better account for their faults. Most of those facts I can bear witness of myself, and have received the rest from sufficient authority.

It is most certain, that when the queen first began to change her servants, it was not from a dislike of things, but of persons, and those persons were a very small number. To be more particular, would be *incedere per ignes*. It was the issue of Dr Sacheverell's trial that encouraged her to proceed so far; and several of the low church party, knowing that her displeasure went no farther than against one single family, did not appear to dislike what was done; of which I could give some extraordinary instances. But that famous trial had raised such a spirit in the

* Earl of Wharton.

nation against the parliament, that her majesty thought it necessary to dissolve them, which, I am confident, she did not at first intend. Upon this resolution, delivered by the queen in council, in a more determinate manner than was usual with her, as I was particularly informed by my Lord Somers, then president, some, who were willing to sacrifice one or two persons, would not sacrifice their cause; but immediately flew off; and the great officers of the court and kingdom began to resign their employments, which the queen suffered most of them to do with the utmost regret, and which those who knew her best, thought to be real, especially Lord Somers and Lord Cowper, for whom she had as great a personal regard and esteem, as her nature was capable of admitting, particularly for the former. The new parliament was called during that ferment in the nation, and a great majority of the church party was returned, without the least assistance from the court; whether to gain a reputation of impartiality, where they were secure; or, as Mr Harley's detractors would have it, (who was then minister,) from a refinement of his politics, not to suffer, upon the account of I know not what wise reasons, too great an inequality in the balance.

When the parliament met, they soon began to discover more zeal than the queen expected or desired. She had entertained the notion of forming a moderate or comprehensive scheme, which she maintained with great firmness, nor would ever depart from until half a year before her death: but this, neither the house of commons, nor the kingdom in general, were then at all inclined to admit, whatever they may have been in any juncture since: several country-members,

to almost a third part of the house, began immediately to form themselves into a body, under a fantastic name of the October Club. These daily pressed the ministry for a thorough change in employments, and were not put off without jealousy and discontent. I remember it was then commonly understood and expected, that when the session ended, a general removal would be made: but it happened otherwise; for not only few or none were turned out, but much deliberation was used in supplying common vacancies by death. This manner of proceeding in a prime minister, I confess, appeared to me wholly unaccountable, and without example; and I was little satisfied with the solution I had heard, and partly knew, "That he acted thus to keep men at his devotion, by letting expectation lie in common;" for I found the effect did not answer, and that, in the mean time, he led so uneasy a life, by solicitations and pursuits, as no man would endure who had a remedy at hand. About the beginning of his ministry, I did, at the request of several considerable persons, take the liberty of representing this matter to him. His answer was short and cold: "That he hoped his friends would trust him; that he heartily wished none but those who loved the church and queen were employed; but that all things could not be done on a sudden." I have reason to believe, that his nearest acquaintance were then wholly at a loss what to think of his conduct. He was forced to preserve the opinion of power, without which he could not act, while in reality he had little or none; and besides, he thought it became him to take the burden of reproach upon himself, rather than lay it upon the queen his mistress, who was grown very positive, slow, and suspicious; and from the

opinion of having been formerly too much directed, fell into the other extreme, and became difficult to be advised. So that few ministers had ever, perhaps, a harder game to play, between the jealousy and discontents of his friends on one side, and the management of the queen's temper on the other.

There could hardly be a firmer friendship, in appearance, than what I observed between those three great men, who were then chiefly trusted; I mean the Lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt. I remember, in the infancy of their power, being at the table of the first, where they were all met, I could not forbear taking notice of the great affection they bore to each other; and said, "I would venture to prophesy, that however inconstant our court had hitherto been, their ministry would certainly last; for they had the church, the crown, and the people, entirely on their side: then it happened, that the public good, and their private interest, had the same bottom, which is a piece of good fortune that does not always fall to the share of men in power. But, principally, because I observed they heartily loved one another; and I did not see how their kindness could be disturbed by competition, since each of them seemed contented with his own district; so that, notwithstanding the old maxim, which pronounces court friendships to be of no long duration, I was confident theirs would last as long as their lives." But, it seems, the inventor of that maxim happened to be a little wiser than I, who lived to see this friendship first degenerate into indifference and suspicion, and thence corrupt into the greatest animosity and hatred; contrary to all appearances, and much to the discredit of me and my sagacity. By what degrees, and from what

causes, their dissensions grew, I shall, as far as it may be safe and convenient, very impartially relate.

When Mr Harley was stabbed by Guiscard, the writer of a weekly paper called the Examiner, taking occasion to reflect on that accident, happened to let fall an idle circumstance, I know not upon what grounds, "That the French assassin confessed, he at first intended to have murdered Mr Secretary St John; who sitting at too great a distance, he was forced to vent his rage on the other." Whether the secretary had been thus informed, or was content that others should believe it, I never yet could learn: but nothing could be more unfortunate than the tendency of such a report, which, by a very unfair decision, derived the whole merit of that accident to Mr St John, and left Mr Harley nothing but the danger and the pain: of both which, although he had a sufficient share, (his physicians being often under apprehensions for his life,) yet I am confident the time of his illness was a period of more quiet and ease, than he ever enjoyed during the rest of his administration. This report was not unresented by Mr Harley's friends; and the rather, because the fact was directly otherwise, as it soon appeared by Guiscard's confession.*

While that minister lay ill of his wound, and

* Swift's memory has failed him in this instance. The confession of Guiscard bore, that his original design had been against St John, not, certainly, because he esteemed him a greater enemy to France than Harley, but because, having been a companion of his pleasures, he had expected St John's interposition in his favour, and resented the disappointment.

his life in question, the weight of business fell, in some measure, upon the secretary, who was not without ambition; which, I confess, I have seldom found among the wants of great men; and it was conceived that he had already entertained the thoughts of being at the head of affairs, in case Mr Harley should die; although, at the same time, I must do justice to Mr St John, by repeating what he said to me, with great appearance of concern, (and he was but an ill dissembler,) "That if Mr Harley's accident should prove fatal, it would be an irreparable loss: That, as things then stood, his life was absolutely necessary: That, as to himself, he was not master of the scheme by which they were to proceed, nor had credit enough with the queen; neither did he see how it would be possible for them, in such a case, to wade through the difficulties they were then under." However, not to be over particular in so nice a point, thus much is certain, that some things happened during Mr Harley's confinement, which bred a coldness and jealousy between those two great men; and these, increasing by many subsequent accidents, could never be removed.

Upon Mr Harley's recovery, which was soon followed by his promotion to an earldom, and the treasurer's staff, he was earnestly pressed to go on with the change of employments, for which his friends and the kingdom were very impatient; wherein, I am confident, he was not unwilling to comply, if a new incident had not put farther difficulties in his way. The queen having thought fit to take the key from the Duchess of Marlborough, it was, after some time, given to an-

other great lady,* wholly in the interest of the opposite party; who, by a most obsequious behaviour, of which she is a perfect mistress, and the privileges of her place, which gave her continual access, quickly won so far upon the affections of her majesty, that she had more personal credit than all the queen's servants put together. Of this lady's character and story, having spoken so much in other papers, which may one day see the light, I shall only observe, that as soon as she was fixed in her station, the queen, following the course of her own nature, grew daily much more difficult and uncomplying. Some weak endeavours were indeed used to divert her majesty from this choice: but she continued steady, and pleaded, "That, if she might not have liberty to choose her own servants, she could not see what advantage she had gotten by the change of her ministry:" and so little was her heart set upon what they call a high church or tory administration, that several employments in court and country, and a great majority in all commissions remained in the hands of those who most opposed the present proceedings; nor do I remember that any removal of consequence was made till the winter following, when the Earl of Nottingham was pleased to prepare and offer a vote in the house of lords, against any peace while Spain continued in the hands of the Bourbon family. Of this vote the ministers had early notice; and, by casting up the numbers, concluded they should have a majority of ten to overthrow it. The queen was desired, and promised, to speak to a certain lord,

* Mrs Masham.

who was looked upon as dubious. That lord attended accordingly; but heard not a word of the matter from her majesty, although she afterward owned it was not for want of remembering, but from perfect indifference. The treasurer, who trusted to promises, and reckoned that others would trust to his, was, by a most unseasonable piece of parsimony, grossly deceived; and the vote carried against the court. The queen had the curiosity to be present at the debate; and appeared so little displeased at the event, or against those from whom she might have expected more compliance, that a person in high station among her domestics, who, that day, in her presence, had shown his utmost eloquence (such as it was) against the ministers, received a particular mark* of distinction and favour, which, by his post, he could not pretend to; and was not removed from her service but with exceeding difficulty, many months after. And it is certain that this vote could not have been carried, if some persons very near her majesty had not given assurances, where they were proper, that it would be acceptable to the queen; which her behaviour seemed to confirm.

But, when the consequences of this vote were calmly represented to her: "That the limitation specified therein had wholly tied up her hands, in case the recovery of Spain should be found

* "Yesterday, when the queen was going from the house, where she sat to hear the debate, the Duke of Shrewsbury, lord chamberlain, asked her whether he or the great chamberlain, Lindsey, ought to lead her out? she answered short, neither of you, and gave her hand to the Duke of Somerset, who was louder than any in the house for the clause against peace." *Journal to Stella*, Vol. II. p. 428.

impossible, as it was frequently allowed and owned by many principal leaders of the opposite party, and had hitherto been vainly endeavoured either by treaty or war: That the kingdom was not in a condition to bear any longer its burden and charge, especially with annual additions: That other expedients might possibly be found, for preventing France and Spain from being united under the same king, according to the intent and letter of the grand alliance: That the design of this vote was, to put her majesty under the necessity of dissolving the parliament, beginning all things anew, and placing the administration in the hands of those whom she had thought fit to lay aside; and this, by sacrificing her present servants, to the rage and vengeance of the former;" with many other obvious considerations, not very proper at this time to be repeated: Her majesty, who was earnestly bent upon giving peace to her people, consented to fall upon the sole expedient that her own coldness, or the treasurer's thrift, and want or contempt of artifice, had left her; which was, to create a number of peers, sufficient to turn the balance in the house of lords. I confess, that in my history of those times, where this matter, among others, is treated with a great deal more liberty, and consequently very unfit for present perusal, I have refined so far as to conjecture, that if this were the treasurer's counsel, he might possibly have given it upon some farther views, than that of avoiding the consequences of my Lord Nottingham's vote. And what those were, I suppose, I may offer without offence. It is known enough, that from the time of the revolution, to the period I am now speaking of, the favour of the court was almost

perpetually turned toward those, who, in the party term, are called whigs, or the low church; and this was a space of above twenty years, wherein great additions were made to the peerage; and the bishops bench almost wholly renewed. But, the majority of landed men still retaining the old church principles in religion and government, notwithstanding all endeavours to convert them, the late king was under many insuperable difficulties during the course of his reign; elections seldom succeeding so well as to leave the court side without strenuous opposition, sufficient to carry many points against him, which he had much at heart. Upon the late queen's succeeding to the crown, the church party, who seemed to have grown more numerous under all discouragements, began to conceive hopes that her majesty, who had always professed to favour their principles, would make use of their service. And indeed upon that foot things stood for some time: but, a new war being resolved on, three persons,* who had most credit with her majesty, and who were then looked upon to be at least as high principled as could possibly consist with the protestant succession, having consulted their friends, began to conceive that the military spirit was much more vigorous in the other party, who appeared more keen against France, more sanguine upon the power and wealth of England, and better versed in the arts of finding out funds, to which they had been so long used. There were some other motives for this transition of the

* The Duke of Marlborough, with the Earls of Godolphin and Sunderland.

ministers at that time, which are more proper for the history above mentioned, where they are faithfully recorded. But thus the queen was brought to govern by what they call a low church ministry, which continued for several years; till, at length, grown weary of the war, although carried on with great glory and success, and the nation rising into a flame (whether justly or not) upon the trial of Dr Sacheverell, which, in effect, was a general muster of both parties; her majesty, following her own inclinations, and those of her people, resolved to make some changes in the ministry, and take Mr Harley into her councils. This was brought about, as the charge against that minister says, by the basest insinuations; upon which, being a determination of parliament, I shall not dispute; although I confess to have received a very different account of that matter from a most excellent lady, upon whose veracity I entirely depend; and who, being then in chief confidence with her mistress, must needs know a particular fact, wherein she was immediately concerned and trusted, better than any one man, or number of men, except the majority of a house of commons.*

When the new parliament met, whose elections were left entirely to the people, without the least influence from the court, it plainly appeared how far the church party in the nation out-numbered the other, and especially in the several counties. But, in the house of lords, even after some management, there was but a weak and crazy majo-

* There can be no doubt that Mrs Masham, the person here meant, was the conductress of the whole intrigue—but her evidence upon its purity, is not quite beyond question.

city: nor even could this have been expected, if several great lords, who were always reputed of the other party, had not, only complied, but been highly instrumental in the change; as the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Argyle, the Earls of Peterborough, Rivers, and some others, who certainly came into the queen's measures upon other motives than that of party.* Now, since the government of England cannot go on while the two houses of parliament are in opposition to each other; and that the people, whenever they acted freely, would infallibly return a majority of church men; one of these two things was of necessity to be done: either, first, to dissolve that parliament, and call another of the whig stamp, by force of a prodigious expence, which would be neither decent nor safe, and, perhaps, at that time, hardly feasible: or else, to turn the balance in the house of lords; which, after the success of Lord Nottingham's vote, was not otherwise to be done, than by creating a sufficient number of peers, in order at once to make the queen and her people easy upon that article, for the rest of her reign. And this I should be willing to think was the treasurer's meaning, when he advised those advancements; which, however, I confess, I did very much dislike.

But if, after all I have said, my conjecture

* The Duke of Shrewsbury seems to have been animated with personal resentment against Lord Godolphin, who keenly opposed his being made Lord Chamberlain. The Duke of Argyle, and Earl of Peterborough, were both keen whigs, yet acted with vigour against their own party, animated chiefly by professional jealousy of the Duke of Marlborough's military renown and high command.

should happen to be wrong, yet I do not see how the treasurer can justly be blamed, for preserving his cause, his friends, and himself, from unavoidable ruin, by an expedient allowed on all hands to be lawful. Perhaps, he was brought under that necessity by the want of proper management: but, when that necessity appeared, he could not act otherwise, without unravelling whatever had been done; which, in the language of those times, would have been called delivering the queen and kingdom back into the hands of a faction, they had so lately got rid of. And I believe, no minister of any party would, in his circumstances, have scrupled to take the same step, when the *summa rerum* was at stake.

Although the queen was brought into this measure by no other motive than her earnest desire of a peace, yet the treasurer's friends began to press him anew for farther changes in employments; concluding, from what was past, that his credit was great enough to compass whatever he pleased. But this proved to be ill reasoning; for the queen had no dislike at all to the other party (whatever personal piques she might bear to some among them) farther than as she conceived they were bent upon continuing the war; to which her majesty resolved to put as speedy an end as she could with honour and safety to her kingdoms, and therefore fell, with readiness enough, into the methods proposed to her for advancing that great work. But in dispensing her favours, she was extremely cautious and slow; and after the usual mistake of those who think they have been often imposed on, became so very suspicious, that she overshot the mark, and erred in the other extreme. When a person happened to be recommended as useful for her service, or proper to be

obliged, perhaps, after a long delay, she would consent; but, if the treasurer offered, at the same time, a warrant or other instrument to her, already prepared in order to be signed, because he presumed to reckon upon her consent beforehand, she would not; and thus the affair would sometimes lie for several months together, although the thing were ever so reasonable, or even although the publick suffered by the delay. So that this minister had no other remedy but to let her majesty take her own time, which never failed to be the very longest that the nature of the thing could suffer her to defer it.

When this promotion was made, Mr secretary St John, whose merits and pretensions, as things then stood, were far superior to any, was purposely left out, because the court had need of his great abilities, the following session, in the house of commons; and the peace being then upon the anvil, he was best able to explain and justify the several steps toward it; which he accordingly did, with invincible reason and universal applause. When the session was over, the queen thought fit to give him a title; and that he might not lose his rank, created him viscount. There had been an earldom in his name and family lately extinct, though a barony fell to a collateral branch in the person of an infant; and the secretary, being of the same house, expected and desired the same degree. For he reasoned, "that making him a viscount, would be but rigorous justice; and he hoped he might pretend to some mark of favour." But the queen could not be prevailed with; because, to say the truth, he was not much at that time in her good graces; some women about the court having infused an opinion into her, that he was not so regular in his life as he

ought to be. The secretary laid the whole blame of this disappointment upon the earl of Oxford; and freely told me, that he would never depend upon the earl's friendship as long as he lived, nor have any farther commerce with him, than what was necessary for carrying on the publick service. And although I have good reason to be assured that the treasurer was wholly innocent in this point, as both himself and lady Masham then protested to me; yet my lord Bolingbroke thought the appearances were so strong, that I was never able to bring him over to my opinion.

The divisions between these two great men began to split the court into parties. Harcourt lord chancellor, the dukes of Shrewsbury and Argyll, sir William Wyndham, and one or two more, adhered to the secretary; the rest were either neuters, or inclined to the treasurer, whether from policy or gratitude; although they all agreed to blame and lament his mysterious and procrastinating manner in acting, which the state of affairs at that time could very ill admit, and must have rendered the earl of Oxford inexcusable, if the queen's obstinate temper had not put him under the necessity of exerting those talents, wherewith, it must be confessed, his nature was already too well provided.

This minister had stronger passions than the secretary, but kept them under stricter government. My lord Bolingbroke was of a nature frank and open; and as men of great genius are superior to common rules, he seldom gave himself the trouble of disguising or subduing his resentments, although he was ready enough to forget them. In matters of state, as the earl was too reserved, so, perhaps, the other was too free; not from any incontinency of talk, but from the

mere contempt of multiplying secrets; although the graver counsellors imputed this liberty of speech to vanity or lightness. And upon the whole, no two men could differ more, in their diversions, their studies, their ways of transacting business, their choice of company, or manner of conversation.

The queen, who was well informed of these animosities among her servants, of which her own dubious management had been the original cause, began to find and lament, the ill consequences of them in her affairs, both at home and abroad; and to lay the blame upon her treasurer, whose greatest fault, in his whole ministry, was too much compliance with his mistress, by which his measures were often disconcerted, and himself brought under suspicion by his friends.

I am very confident that this alteration in the queen's temper toward the earl of Oxford could never have appeared, if he had not thought fit to make one step in politicks which I have not been able to apprehend. When the queen first thought of making a change among her servants, after Dr Sacheverell's trial, my lady Masham was very much heard and trusted upon that point; and it was by her intervention, Mr Harley was admitted into her majesty's presence. That lady was then in high favour with her mistress; which I believe the earl was not so very sedulous to cultivate or preserve as if he had it much at heart, nor was altogether sorry when he saw it under some degree of declination. The reasons for this must be drawn from the common nature of mankind, and the incompatibility of power: but the juncture was not favourable for such a refinement; because it was early known to all who had but looked into the court, that this lady must have a

successor, who, upon pique and principle, would do all in her power to obstruct his proceedings. My lady Masham was a person of a plain sound understanding, of great truth and sincerity, without the least mixture of falsehood or disguise; of an honest boldness and courage, superior to her sex; firm and disinterested in her friendship; and full of love, duty, and veneration for the queen her mistress; talents as seldom found or sought for in a court, as unlikely to thrive while they are there: so that nothing could then be more unfortunate to the publick, than a coldness between this lady and the first minister; nor a greater mistake in the latter, than to suffer, or connive at, the lessening of her credit, which he quickly saw removed very disadvantageously to another object;* and wanted the effects of, when his own was sunk, in the only domestick affair for which I ever knew him under any concern.

While the queen's favour to the earl was thus gradually lessening, the breaches between him and his friends grew every day wider; which he looked upon with great indifference, and seemed to have his thoughts only turned upon finding out some proper opportunity for delivering up his staff: but this her majesty would not then admit; because, indeed, it was not easy to determine who should succeed him.†

* The Duchess of Somerset.

† An apology for the conduct of the Earl of Oxford thus states his behaviour on this occasion:

“The said faction having thus an uninterrupted freedom of acting, it was no hard matter to carry on their scheme, and, as they improved the occasion with the greatest diligence, it was not

In the midst of these dispositions at court, the queen fell dangerously sick at Windsor, about Christmas 1713. It was confidently reported in town, that she was dead; and the heads of the expecting party were said to have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the earl of Wharton's house. Whether this were true or not, yet thus much is certain, that the expressions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party; which proceeding, men of form did not allow to be altogether decent. A messenger was immediately dispatched, with an account of the queen's illness, to the treasurer; who was then in town, and in order to stop the report of her death, appeared next day abroad in his chariot with a pair of horses, and did not go down to Windsor till his usual time. Upon his arrival there, the danger was over, but not the fright, which still sat on every body's face; and the account given of the confusion and distraction the whole court had been under, is hardly to be conceived: upon which, the treasurer said to me, "Whenever any thing ails the queen these people are out of their wits; and yet they are so thoughtless, that as soon as she is well, they act as if she were immortal." I had sufficient reason, both before and

long before they found means to let the staff know, that it would be taken kindly if he was to resign. But the staff resolving to put them upon more openly discovering themselves, waited as though he had not understood those hints, continued to execute the duty of his place with all the tranquillity and composure of mind, as if he had not the least notion of being removed, and thereby obliged them to go nearer the forcible point than they designed to do." *History of the White Staff*, p. 35.

since, to allow his observation to be true, and that some share of it might with justice be applied to himself.

The queen had early notice of this behaviour among the discontented leaders, during her illness. It was indeed an affair of such a nature, as required no aggravation: which, however, would not have been wanting; the women of both parties who then attended her majesty, being well disposed to represent it in the strongest light. The result was, that the queen immediately laid aside all her schemes and visions of reconciling the two opposite interests; and entered upon a firm resolution of adhering to the old English principles, from an opinion that the adverse party waited impatiently for her death, upon views little consisting (as the language and opinion went then) with the safety of the constitution, either in church or state. She therefore determined to fall into all just and proper methods that her ministers should advise her to, for the preservation and continuance of both. This I was quickly assured of, not only by the lord chancellor, and Lord Bolingbroke, but by the treasurer himself.

I confess myself to have been then thoroughly persuaded that this incident would perfectly reconcile the ministers, by uniting them in pursuing one general interest; and considering no farther than what was fittest to be done, I could not easily foresee any objections or difficulties that the Earl of Oxford would make. I had, for some time, endeavoured to cultivate the strictest friendship between him and the general,* by telling

* The Duke of Ormond.

both of them (which happened to be the truth) how kindly they spoke of each other; and by convincing the latter, of what advantage such a union must be to her majesty's service. There was an affair upon which all our friends laid a more than ordinary weight. Among the horse and foot guards appointed to attend on the queen's person, several officers took every occasion, with great freedom and bitterness of speech, to revile the ministry, upon the subject of the peace and the pretender, not without many gross expressions against the queen herself; such as, I suppose, will hardly be thought on or attempted, but certainly not suffered, under the present powers: which proceeding, beside the indignity, begot an opinion, that her majesty's person might be better guarded than by such keepers, who, after attending at court, or at the levee of the general or first minister, adjourned, to publish their disaffection in coffeehouses and gaming ordinaries, without any regard to decency or truth. It was proposed, that ten or a dozen of the least discreet among these gentlemen, should be obliged to sell their posts in the guards; and that two or three, who had gone the greatest lengths, should have a price fixed for their commissions, somewhat below the exorbitant rate usually demanded for a few years past. The Duke of Ormond desired but ten thousand pounds to make the matter easy to those officers who were to succeed; which sum, his grace told me, the treasurer had given him encouragement to expect, although he pleaded present want of money: and I cannot but say, that having often, at the duke's desire, pressed this minister to advance the money, he gave me such answers as made me think

he really intended it. But I was quickly undeceived; for, expostulating some days after with him upon the same subject, after great expressions of esteem and friendship for the Duke of Ormond, and mentioning some ill-treatment he had received from his friends, he said, "he knew not why he should do other people's work." The truth is, that except the duke, my Lord Trevor, and Mr Secretary Bromley, I could not find he had one friend left, of any consequence, in her majesty's service. The lord chancellor,* Lord Bolingbroke, and Lady Masham, openly declared against him; to whom were joined the Bishop of Rochester† and some others. Dartmouth, then privy-seal, and Poulett, lord steward, stood neutrals. The Duke of Shrewsbury hated the treasurer; but sacrificed all resentments to ease, profit, and power; and was then in Ireland, acting a part directly opposite to the court, which he had sagacity enough to foresee might quickly turn to account; so that the Earl of Oxford stood almost single, and every day found a visible declension of the queen's favour toward him; which he took but little care to redress, desiring nothing so much as leave to deliver up his staff: which, however, as conjunctures then stood, he was not able to obtain; his adversaries not having determined where to place it: neither was it, upon several accounts, a work so proper to be done while the parliament sat, where the ministry had already lost too much reputation, and especially in the house of lords. By what I could gather from several discourses with the treasurer, it was not

* Lord Harcourt.

† Dr Atterbury.

very difficult to find out how he reasoned with himself. The church party continued violently bent to have some necessary removals made in the guards, as well as a farther change in the civil employments through the kingdom. All the great officers about the court, or in her majesty's service, except the Duke of Shrewsbury, and one or two more, were in the same opinion. The queen herself, since her last illness at Windsor, had the like dispositions; and I think it may appear, from several passages already mentioned, that the blame of those delays, so often complained of, did not originally lie at the Earl of Oxford's door. But the state of things was very much changed by several incidents. The chancellor, Lord Bolingbroke, and Lady Masham, had entirely forsaken him, upon suspicions I have mentioned before; which, although they were founded on mistake, yet he would never be at the pains to clear. And, as he first lessened his confidence with the queen, by pressing her upon those very points, for which his friends accused him that they were not performed; so, upon her change of sentiments after her recovery, he lost all favour and credit with her, for not seconding those new resolutions, from which she had formerly been so averse. Besides, he knew, as well as all others who were near the court, that it was hardly possible the queen could survive many months; in which case, he must of necessity bring upon him the odium and vengeance of the successor, and of that party which must then be predominant, who would quickly unravel all he had done: or, if her majesty should hold out longer than it was reasonable to expect; yet, after having done a work that must procure him many

new enemies, he could expect nothing but to be discharged in displeasure. Upon these reasons, he continued his excuses to the Duke of Ormond, for not advancing the money; and during the six last months of his ministry, would enter into no affairs but what immediately concerned the business of his office. That whole period was nothing else but a scene of murmuring and discontent, quarrel and misunderstanding, animosity and hatred, between him and his former friends. In the mean time, the queen's countenance was wholly changed toward him; she complained of his silence and sullenness; and, in return, gave him every day fresh instances of neglect or displeasure.*

* The apology for the Lord Treasurer already quoted, thus states the machinations of Bolingbroke's cabal against him :

“ To return therefore to our history, we found that the staff, having left these men to act upon their own imaginary schemes, and they having now, as it were, the full liberty they desired, they failed not to make use of it, with the greatest assurance imaginable; pursuing their first design to supplant him effectually in his interest with the queen: to this purpose they procured several things to be demanded of him in the execution of his office, which, as staff, they knew he could not comply with, and which they were satisfied he would excuse himself from doing; to which excuses it lay on them to give the most malicious construction that they were able, and which, by the artifices of some females, who had too many obligations to the staff, to make such management very honourable, they found means to do. Nor, perhaps, would those very people have been the last to have charged him with misapplications, if he had complied with their demands, or if he had failed, with plainness and resolution to represent the necessity he was under to refuse that obedience, which in other cases, he was ready to give without any reserve to the orders and commands of his sovereign.

“ There was nothing so malicious and unjust, as the insinuations which the agents of this faction made upon the occasion afore-

The original of this quarrel among the ministers, which had been attended with so many ill consequences, began first between the treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, from the causes and incidents I have already mentioned; and might very probably have been prevented, if the treasurer had dealt with less reserve, or the Lord Bolingbroke had put that confidence in him, which so sincere a friend might reasonably have expected. Neither, perhaps, would a reconciliation have been an affair of much difficulty, if their friends, on both sides, had not too much observed the common prudential forms of not caring to inter-

said; not failing to represent every thing as much to the disadvantage of the staff as it was possible; suggesting, that he exercised his power with the same, or a greater arbitrary haughtiness, than that which he had alledged upon his predecessor: that while he pretended the preserving liberty, he acted with unsufferable tyranny: that not content to exercise this temper towards the subject, he now began to oppose himself to the queen also; to dispute her majesty's commands, and to obstruct her favours, if he found them directed to persons who he thought fit to pique in private matters: that in public affairs he carried on an interest with the house of Hanover, dishonourable to, because without the knowledge of, her majesty; that he sought to establish himself in the good graces of the successor, at her majesty's expence, and at the expence of the honour of the throne, and the like.

" While these things were believed, it is not to be wondered at, if some dissatisfactions began to take place, to the prejudice of the interest of the white-staff, which, albeit he was not insensible of, yet he too plainly saw that they were not easily to be removed, unless he submitted to a faction, who, he was satisfied, were embarked in a premeditated design to destroy and betray their sovereign; wherefore he resolved to reserve himself, as before, for better times, and to wait an occasion when he might open her majesty's eyes to the design that was in hand, and detect the schemes of these men, not to her majesty only, but to the whole nation.—*Secret History of the White-Staff; Lond. 1714, p. 33.*

meddle; which, together with the addition of a shrug, was the constant answer I received from most of them, whenever I pressed them upon the subject. I cannot tell whether my Lord Trevor may be excepted, because I had little acquaintance with him, although I am inclined to the negative. Mr Prior, who was much loved and esteemed by them both, as he well deserved, upon account of every virtue that can qualify a man for private conversation, might have been the properest person for such a work, if he could have thought it to consist with the prudence of a courtier; but, however, he was absent in France at those junctures when it was chiefly necessary. And to say the truth, most persons had so avowedly declared themselves on one side or the other, that these two great men had hardly a common friend left, except myself. I had ever been treated with great kindness by them both; and I conceived, that what I wanted in weight and credit, might be made up with sincerity and freedom. The former they never doubted, and the latter they had constant experience of: I had managed between them for almost two years; and their candour was so great, that they had not the least jealousy or suspicion of me. And I thought I had done wonders, when, upon the queen's being last at Windsor, I put them in a coach to go thither, by appointment, without other company, where they would have four hours time to come to a good understanding; but, in two days after, I learned from them both, that nothing was done.

There had been three bishopricks for some time vacant in Ireland; and I had prevailed on the Earl of Oxford, that one of them should be

divided. Accordingly, four divines of that kingdom were named to the queen, and approved by her; but upon some difficulties, not worth mentioning, the queen's mandatory letters to Ireland had been delayed. I pressed the treasurer every week while her majesty was at Windsor, and every day after her return, to finish this affair, as a point of great consequence to the church in that kingdom; and growing at length impatient of so many excuses, I fell into some passion; when his lordship freely told me, "That he had been earnest with the queen upon that matter, about ten times the last fortnight, but without effect; and that he found his credit wholly at an end." This happened about eleven weeks before the queen died; and two nights after, sitting with him and lord Bolingbroke, in lady Masham's lodgings, at St James's, for some hours, I told the treasurer, "That, having despaired of any reconciliation between them, I had only staid some time longer to forward the disposal of those bishopricks in Ireland; which, since his lordship told me was out of his power, I now resolved to retire immediately, as from an evil I could neither help to redress, nor endure the sight of: That before I left them, I desired they would answer me two questions; first, whether these mischiefs might not be remedied in two minutes? and secondly, whether, upon the present foot, the ministry would not be infallibly ruined in two months?" Lord Bolingbroke answered to each question in the affirmative, and approved of my resolution to retire; but the treasurer, after his manner, evaded both, and only desired me to dine with him next day. However, I immediately went down to a friend in Berkshire, to await the issue, which ended in the removal of my

lord treasurer, and, three days after, in her majesty's death.

Thus I have, with some pains, recollected several passages, which I thought were most material for the satisfaction of those, who appear so much at a loss upon the unaccountable quarrels of the late ministry. For, indeed, it looked like a riddle, to see persons of great and undisputed abilities, called by the queen to her service in the place of others, with whose proceedings she was disgusted, and with great satisfaction to the clergy, the landed interest, and body of the people, running on a sudden into such a common beaten court track of ruin, by divisions among themselves; not only without a visible cause, but with the strongest appearances to the contrary, and without any refuge to the usual excuse, of evil instruments, or cunning adversaries, to blow the coals of dissention; for the work was entirely their own.

I impute the cause of these misfortunes to the queen; who, from the variety of hands she had employed, and reasonings she had heard, since her coming to the crown, was grown very fond of moderating schemes; which, as things then stood, were by no means reducible to practice. She had likewise a good share of that adherence to her own opinions, which is usually charged upon her sex. And lastly, (as I have before observed) having received some hints that she had formerly been too much governed, she grew very difficult to be advised.

The next in fault was the treasurer; who, not being able to influence the queen in many points, with relation to party, which his friends and the kingdom seemed to have much at heart, would needs take all the blame on himself, from a known

principle of state prudence, "That a first minister must always preserve the reputation of power." But I have ever thought, that there are few maxims in politicks, which at some conjunctures, may not be very liable to an exception. The queen was by no means inclined to make many changes in employments; she was positive in her nature, and extremely given to delay. And surely these were no proper qualities for a chief minister to personate toward his nearest friends, who were brought into employment upon very different views and promises. Nor could any reputation of power be worth preserving, at the expence of bringing sincerity into question. I remember, upon a Saturday, when the ministers, and one or two friends of the treasurer, constantly met to dine at his house, one of the company attacked him very warmly, on account that a certain lord, who perpetually opposed the queen's measures, was not dismissed from a great employment,* which, beside other advantages, gave that lord the power of choosing several members of parliament. The treasurer evaded the matter with his usual answer, "That this was whipping day."† Upon which, the secretary Bolingbroke, turning to me, said, "It was a strange thing that my Lord Oxford would not be so kind to his friends, and so just to his own innocence, as to vindicate himself where he had no blame; for, to his knowledge and the chancellor's, (who was then also present) the treasurer had frequently and earnestly moved the queen upon that very

* The Duke of Somerset, who was master of the horse.

† This jocular phrase referred to the friendly censures which Swift often applied to his tardiness and mystery.

point, without effect." Whereupon this minister, finding himself pressed so far, told the company, "That he had at last prevailed with her majesty; and the thing would be done in two days:" which followed accordingly. I mention this fact as an instance of the Earl of Oxford's disposition to preserve some reputation of power in himself, and remove all blame from the queen; and this, to my particular knowledge, was a frequent case; but how far justifiable in point of prudence, I have already given my opinion. However, the treasurer's friends were yet much more to blame than himself: he had abundance of merit with them all; not only upon account of the public, the whole change of the ministry having been effected, without any intervention of theirs, by him and Lady Masham; but likewise from the consequence of that change, whereby the greatest employments of the kingdom were divided among them; and therefore, in common justice, as well as prudence, they ought to have been more indulgent to his real failings, rather than suspect him of imaginary ones, as they often did, through ignorance, refinement, or mistake: and I mention it to the honour of the secretary Bolingbroke, as well as of the treasurer, that having myself, upon many occasions, joined with the former in quarrelling with the earl's conduct upon certain points, the secretary would, in a little time after, frankly own that he was altogether mistaken.

Lastly, I cannot excuse the remissness of those whose business it should have been, as it certainly was their interest, to have interposed their good offices for healing this unhappy breach among the ministers: but of this I have already spoken.

CHAP. II.

WRITTEN ABOUT A YEAR AFTER.

Having proceeded thus far, I thought it would be unnecessary to say any thing upon the other head, relating to the design of bringing in the Pretender: for, upon the Earl of Oxford's impeachment, the gentlemen of the prevailing side assured me, "That the whole mystery would be soon laid open to the world;" and were ready to place the merit of their cause upon that issue. This discovery we all expected from the report of the secret committee:* but, when that treatise appeared, (whoever were the compilers,) we found it to be rather the work of a luxuriant fancy, an absolute state pamphlet, arguing for a cause, than a dry recital of facts, or a transcript of letters; and for what related to the Pretender, the authors contented themselves with informing the public, that the whole intrigue was privately carried on, in personal treaties between the Earl of Oxford and the Abbé Gualtier; which must needs be a doctrine hard of digestion to those who have the least knowledge either of the earl or the abbé, or upon what foot the latter stood at that time with the English ministry: I con-

* The Report of the Secret Committee related entirely to the peace of Utrecht, and the negociations with France which preceded that treaty; and Oxford and Bolingbroke were declared by the house of commons guilty of high treason, for their share in these measures. But no evidence was offered, nor was there any direct charge made of their design to alter the succession.

ceive, that whoever is at distance enough, to be out of fear either of a vote or a messenger, will be as easily brought to believe all the popish legends together. And to make such an assertion, in a public report, delivered to the house of commons, without the least attempt to prove it, will, some time or other, be reckoned such a strain upon truth and probability, as is hard to be equalled in a Spanish romance. I think it will be allowed, that the articles of high treason drawn up against the earl, were not altogether founded upon the report; or at least, that those important hints about bringing in the Pretender, were more proper materials to furnish out a pamphlet, than an impeachment; since this accusation has no part even among the high crimes and misdemeanors.

But, notwithstanding all this, and that the Earl of Oxford, after two years residence in the tower, was at length dismissed without any trial; yet the reproach still went on, that the queen's last ministry, in concert with their mistress, were deeply engaged in a design to set the Pretender upon the throne.* The cultivating of which ac-

* Toland, the Deist, roundly charged the Earl of Oxford with a plan of bringing in the Pretender, and adduced the following grounds of accusation among many others:

“ Written and printed characters of the Pretender are sent over to certain trusty agents, whose sole business is to shew and disperse them. I shall not insist on his pictures and prints innumerable, but only observe, that the very same method was used before the last restoration. The most noted champions of Sir Roger, in coffeehouses and other places of public resort, are Irish papists and Scottish jacobites; who, when they perceive their encomiums, and much more their apologies, to become matter of laughter and contempt to the company, are ready to revenge themselves in the quality of bullies and informers. Good God!

cusation, I impute to the great goodness of those in power, who are so gracious to assign a reason, or at least give a countenance, for that sudden

that we should live to see this vermin once more infest our streets and palaces! nor surely could we live, but in the hopes of seeing them likewise once more sent a packing out of the world or the kingdom. English pensioners ordinarily content themselves with their pay for doing their drudgery. You may infallibly distinguish this tribe by their perpetual invectives against foreigners, by which, all the while, they only mean the Dutch and the Germans; these, on account of the Hanover succession, these for the sake of King William, whose memory they incessantly curse. The windows of the best protestants, (for you'll always remember, that we have agreed to talk without reserve of religion, as it makes a part of our several constitutions, and without which, considering its influence in that respect, we could never have right information,) our windows, I say, are broke, and our persons insulted, for celebrating the memory of King William on the 4th, and our double deliverance from popery on the 5th of November. Letters are known to be intercepted, wherein the Pretender, in order to engage the clergy to his interest, promises to render the church independent on the state: a thing he knows an ignorant, corrupt, aspiring party here, does covet above all things; and wherein he's certainly most sincere, as it paves the way for his own religion. The protestants of Ireland, however divided with relation to the subordination or party of gospel-ministers, yet were always united against their common enemies, the papists, without splitting on the distinction of whig or tory, till Sir Roger sent thither his incendiaries, who have enflamed and exasperated them against each other, to the highest degree of rage. The one is an impudent pettifogging lawyer (Phipps); the other a profligate libertine parson (Higgins); both notorious for their enmity to the succession. Add to all this, the prodigious insolence of the jacobites and papists at the late elections, the unheard-of extravagances (whereof mobbing was the least) that they practised, in assisting with their votes those who were in the last parliament for the bill of commerce, and you'll agree, my lord, that therefore they expect something more than that bill, (destructive as it is) from those gentlemen in this parliament, wherein, I am confident, they'll find themselves egregiously deceived."—*The Art of Restoring; or the Piety and Probity of General Monk*. London, 1714, p. 41

and universal sweep they thought fit to make, on their first appearance: whereas they might as well have spared that ceremony, by a short recourse to the royal prerogative, which gives every prince a liberty of choosing what servants he will.

There are two points which I believe myself able to make out. First, that neither the late queen, nor her ministers, did ever entertain a design of bringing in the Pretender during her majesty's life, or that he should succeed after her decease.

Secondly, that if they conceived such a design, it was absolutely necessary to prosecute it from the first year of their ministry; because, for at least a year before the queen's death, it was impossible to have put such a design in execution.

I must premise with three circumstances, which have a great effect on me, and must have the like upon those among my friends, who have any tolerable opinion of my veracity; and it is only to those that I offer them.

I remember, during the late treaty of peace, discoursing at several times with some very eminent persons of the opposite side, with whom I had long acquaintance; I asked them seriously, "whether they, or any of their friends, did in earnest believe, or suspect, the queen, or the ministry, to have any favourable regards toward the Pretender?" They all confessed, for themselves, "That they believed nothing of the matter:" and particularly, a person, at present in great employment, said to me, with much frankness, "You set up the church and Sacheverell against us; and we set up trade and the Pretender against you."

The second point I would observe, is this, that

during the course of the late ministry, upon occasion of the libels every day thrown about, I had the curiosity to ask almost every person in great employment, "Whether they knew, or had heard, of any one particular man. (except those who professed to be nonjurors,) that discovered the least inclination toward the Pretender." And the whole number they could muster up did not amount to above five or six; among which, one was a certain old lord lately dead, and one a private gentleman, of little consequence, and of a broken fortune: yet I do not believe myself to have omitted any one great man that came in my way, except the Duke of Buckingham, in whose company I never was above once, or twice at most. I am, therefore, as confident as a man can be of any truth which will not admit a demonstration, that, upon the queen's death, if we except papists and nonjurors, there could not be five hundred persons in England, of all ranks, who had any thoughts of the Pretender; and among these, not six of any quality or consequence: but how it has come to pass that several millions are said to have since changed their sentiments, it shall not be my part to inquire.

The last point is of the same strain; and I offer it, like the two former, to convince only those who are willing to believe me on my own word; that having been, for the space of almost four years, very nearly and perpetually conversant with those who had the greatest share of power, and this in their times of leisure as well as business, I could never hear one single word let fall in favour of the Pretender, although I was curious enough to observe, in a particular manner, what passed upon that subject. And I cannot but

think, that if such an affair had been in agitation, I must have had either very bad luck, or a very small share of common understanding, not to have discovered some grounds, at least, for suspicion : because I never yet knew a minister of state, or indeed any other man, so great a master of secrecy, as to be able, among those he nearly conversed with, wholly to conceal his opinions, however he may cover his designs. This, I say, upon a supposition that they would have held on the mask always before me, which, however, I have no reason to believe. And I confess, it is with the expence of some patience, that I hear this matter summarily determined, by those who had no advantages of knowing any thing that passed, otherwise than what they found in a libel or a coffee-house ; or at best, from general reasonings built upon mistaken facts. Now, although what I have hitherto said upon this point, can have no influence farther than my own personal credit reaches ; yet, I confess, I shall never be brought to change my opinion, till some one, who had more opportunities than I, will be able to produce any single particular, from the letters, the discourses, or the actions of those ministers, as a proof of what they allege ; which has not yet been attempted or pretended.

But, I believe, there may be several arguments of another nature produced, which can make it very evident, to those who will hear reason, that the queen's ministers never had it in their thoughts to alter the succession of the crown.

For, first, when her majesty had determined to change her servants, it is very well known, that those whom she appointed to succeed them, were generally accounted favourers of what is called the

low church party; not only my Lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt, but a great majority of the rest: among which, I can immediately name the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Newcastle, and Argyle; the Earls of Peterborough, Rivers, Strafford, Illy, and Orrery; the Lords Mansel and Masham, with several others, whom I cannot at present recollect. Whereas, of the other party, the Dukes of Ormond and Buckingham, and the Earl of Dartmouth, were the only persons introduced at first, and very few afterward: which, I suppose, will clearly evince, that the bringing in of the Pretender was not the original scheme of such ministers, and that they were by no means proper instruments for such a work.

And whoever knew any thing of the queen's disposition, must believe she had no inclinations at all in favour of the Pretender. She was highly and publicly displeased with my Lord Bolingbroke, because he was seen under the same roof with that person at the opera, when his lordship was sent to France, upon some difficulties about the peace. Her majesty said, "That he ought immediately to have withdrawn, upon the appearance of the other:" wherein, to speak with freedom, I think her judgment was a little mistaken. And at her toilet, among her women, when mention happened to be made of the chevalier, she would frequently let fall expressions of such a nature, as made it manifest how little she deserved those reproaches, which had been cast on her since her death, upon that account.

Besides, I have already said, that her majesty began those changes at court, for no other cause than her personal displeasure against a certain family, and their allies; and from the hope she had

to obtain a peace, by the removal of some, whose interest it was to obstruct it: that when the former chancellor, president, and others came to her, determined to deliver up their employments, she pressed them, somewhat more than it became her dignity, to continue in their stations; of which, I suppose, my Lord Cowper is yet a living witness.*

I am forced to repeat, what I have before observed, that it was with the utmost difficulty she could be ever persuaded to dismiss any person upon the score of party; and that she drove her ministers into the greatest distress, upon my Lord Nottingham's vote against any peace without Spain, for want of speaking to one or two depending lords, although with the last danger of breaking the measures she was most fond of, toward settling the repose of Europe. She had besides, upon the removal of the Duchess of Marlborough, chosen another great lady to succeed, † who quickly grew into higher credit than all her ministers together: a lady openly professing the utmost aversion for the persons, the principles, and measures of those who were then in power, and excelling all, even of her own sex, in every art of insinuation: and this her majesty thought fit to do, in opposition to the strongest representations that could possibly be made to her, of the inconveniencies which would ensue. Her only

* In Lord Cowper's Life, in the *Biographia Britannica*, the queen is said to have requested that he would retain his place as chancellor, which he declined, judging it incompatible with his political principles.

† The Duchess of Somerset succeeded the Duchess of Marlborough as groom of the stole and mistress of the robes.

objection against several clergymen recommended to her for promotions in the church, was, their being too violent in party. And a lady in high favour with her has frequently assured me, "That, whenever she moved the queen to discard some persons, who, upon all occasions, with great virulence opposed the court, her majesty would constantly refuse, and at the same time condemn her for too much party zeal."

But, besides all this, there never was a more stale or antiquated cause than that of the Pretender, at the time when her majesty chose her last ministers, who were most of them children or youths when King James II. abdicated. They found a prince upon the throne, before they were of years to trouble themselves with speculations upon government; and consequently, could have no scruples of conscience in submitting to the present powers, since they hardly remembered any other. And, truly, this was in general the case of the whole kingdom: for the adherents of King James II. were all either dead, or in exile, or sunk in obscurity, laden with years and want; so that, if any guilt were contracted by the revolution, it was generally understood that our ancestors were only to answer for it. And I am confident, (with an exception to professed nonjurors) there was not one man in ten thousand, through England, who had other sentiments. Nor can the contrary opinion be defended, by arguing the prodigious disaffection at present; because the same thing has happened before, from the same cause, in our own country, and within the memory of man, although not with the same event.

But such a disaffection could hardly have been

raised against an absent prince, who was only in expectation of the throne; and, indeed, I cannot but reckon it as a very strong argument, for the good disposition, both in the ministry and kingdom, toward the house of Hanover, that, during my Lord Oxford's administration, there was never thrown out the least reflection against that illustrious house, in any libel or pamphlet; which would hardly have happened, if the small party writers could have thought, that, by such a performance, they would have made their court to those in power; and which would certainly have been a very useful preliminary, if any attempt had been intended toward altering the succession to the crown. But, however, to say the truth, invectives against the absent, and with whom we have nothing to do, although they may render persons little and contemptible, can hardly make them odious; for, hatred is produced by motives of a very different nature, as experience has shown. And although politicians affirm it more eligible for a prince to be hated than despised, yet that maxim is better calculated for an absolute monarchy, than for the climate of England. But I am sensible this is a digression; therefore I return.

The treaties made by her majesty with France and Spain, were calculated, in several points, directly against the Pretender, as he has now found to his cost, and as it is manifest to all the world. Neither could any thing be more superficial, than the politics of those, who could be brought to think that the Regent of France would ever engage in measures against the present King of England; and how the grimace of an ambassador's taking, or not taking, his public character, as in the case of the Earl of Stairs, should serve

so long for an amusement, cannot be sufficiently wondered at. What can be plainer, than that the chief interest of the Duke of Orleans is woven and twisted with that of King George; and this, whether it shall be thought convenient to suffer the young King of France to live longer or not? For, in the second case, the regent perfectly agrees with our present king in this particular circumstance, that the whole order of succession has been broken for his sake; by which means, he likewise will be encumbered with a Pretender, and thereby engaged, upon the strongest motives, to prevent the union of France and Spain under one monarch. And even in the other case, the chance of a boy's life, and his leaving heirs male of his body, is so dubious, that the hopes of a crown to the regent, or his children, will certainly keep that prince, as long as his power continues, very firm in his alliance with England.

And as this design was originally intended and avowed by the queen's ministers, in their treaties with France and Spain, so the events have fully answered in every particular. The present king succeeded to these crowns, with as hearty and universal a disposition of the people; as could possibly consist with the grief, for the loss of so gracious and excellent a princess, as her late majesty. The parliament was most unanimous, in doing every thing that could endear them to a new monarch. The general peace did entirely put an end to any design, which France or Spain might probably have laid, to make a diversion, by an invasion upon Scotland, with the Pretender at the head, in case her majesty had happened to die during the course of the war: and upon the death of the late French king, the Duke of Orleans fell immediately into the strictest measures with Eng-

land; as the queen and her ministers easily foresaw it would be necessary for him to do, from every reason that could regard his own interest. If the queen had died but a short time before the peace, and either of the two great powers engaged against us, had thought fit to have thrown some troops into Scotland, although it could not have been a very agreeable circumstance to a successor and a stranger, yet the universal inclinations at that time in England, toward the house of Hanover, would, in all probability, have prevented the consequences of such an enterprise. But, on the other side, if the war had continued a year longer than her majesty's life, and the same causes had been applied to produce the same effects upon the affections of the people, the issue must inevitably have been, either a long and bloody civil war, or a sudden revolution. So that no incident could have arrived more effectual, to fortify the present king's title, and secure his possession, than that very peace, so much exploded by one party, and so justly celebrated by the other; in continuing to declare which opinions, under the present situation of things, it is not very improbable that they may both be in jest.

But, if any articles of that peace were likely to endanger the protestant succession, how could it come to pass that the Dutch, who were guarantees of that succession, and valued for zealous defenders of it, should be so ready with their offers to comply with every article; and this for no greater a reward than a share in the assiento trade, which the opposers of peace represented to be only a trifle? That the fact is true, I appeal to M. de Buys, who, upon some difficulties the ministry were under by the Earl of Nottingham's vote against any peace, while Spain continued in

the Bourbon family, undertook to make that matter easy, by getting a full approbation from the States, his masters, of all her majesty's proceedings, provided they might be sharers in that trade. I can add this farther, that some months after the conclusion of the peace, and amid all the appearing discontents of the Dutch, a gentleman who had long resided in Holland, and was occasionally employed by the ministers here, assured me, "That he had power from the pensionary, to treat with the Earl of Oxford, about sending hither an extraordinary embassy from Holland, to declare that the States were fully satisfied with the whole plan of the peace, upon certain conditions, which were easy and honourable, and such as had no relation at all to the Pretender." How this happened to fail, I never inquired, nor had any discourse about it with those in power: for, then their affairs were growing desperate, by the Earl of Oxford's declination in the queen's favour; both which became so public, as well as her majesty's bad state of health, that I suppose, those circumstances might easily cool the Dutch politicians in that pursuit.

I remember to have heard it objected against the last ministry, as an instance of their inclination toward the Pretender, "That they were careless in cultivating a good correspondence with the house of Hanover." And on the other side, I know very well what continual pains were employed, to satisfy and inform the elector and his ministers, in every step taken by her majesty, and what offers were made to his highness, for any further securities of the succession in him and his family, that could consist with the honour and safety of the queen. To this purpose were all the instructions given to Earl Rivers,

Mr Thomas Harley, Lord Clarendon, and some others.* But all endeavours were rendered abortive by a foolish circumstance, which has often made me remember the common observation, of the greatest events depending frequently upon the lowest, vilest, and obscurest causes: and this is never more verified than in courts, and the issues of public affairs, whereof I could produce, from my own knowledge and observation, three or four very surprising instances. I have seen an old bed-maker, † by officiously going to one door, when gratitude, as well as common sense, should have sent her to another, become the instrument of putting the nation to the expence of some thousand lives, and several millions of money. I have known as great an event from the stupidity, or wilfulness, of a beggarly Dutchman, ‡ who lingered on purpose half an hour at a visit, when he had promised to be somewhere else. Of no greater dignity was that circumstance, which rendered ineffectual, all endeavours of the late ministry, to establish themselves in the good graces of the court of Hanover, as I shall particularly relate in another work. It may suffice to hint at present, that a delay in conveying a very inconsiderable

* In the little apology for the Earl of Oxford, called, the "History of the White Staff," he is stated to have incurred the jealousy of the chancellor Bolingbroke, and even of the queen, by holding a sort of demi-official intercourse, of a private nature, with the court of Hanover. They alleged, he would not consent that a public and honourable embassy should be sent, but kept his kinsman, Mr Thomas Harley, there, without any official character, in order to carry on his own private intrigues.

† Mrs Foisson, necessary-woman to the queen, preferred to that employment by lady Masham. D. S.

‡ Carew Lord Hunsdon, born and bred in Holland. D. S.

sum, to a very inconsiderable French vagrant,* gave the opportunity to a more industrious party, of corrupting that channel, through which all the ideas of the dispositions and designs of the queen, the ministers, and the whole British nation, were conveyed.

The second point which I conceived myself able to make out, is this : that if the queen's ministers had, with or without the knowledge of their mistress, entertained any thoughts of altering the succession in favour of the Pretender, it was absolutely necessary for them, to have begun and prosecuted that design, as soon as they came into her majesty's service.

There were two circumstances, which would have made it necessary for them to have lost no time. First, because it was a work that could not possibly be done on a sudden ; for the whole nation, almost to a man, excepting professed nonjurors, had conceived the utmost abhorrence of a popish successor ; and, as I have already observed, the scruple of conscience, upon the point of loyalty, was wholly confined to a few antiquated nonjurors, who lay starving in obscurity : so that, in order to have brought such an affair about in a parliamentary way, some years must have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, to have rendered one person odious, and another amiable ; neither of which is to be soon compassed toward absent princes, unless by comparing them with

* Mons. de Robethon. He was privy counsellor to the elector, (afterwards George I.) and enjoyed much of his confidence.

those of whom we have had experience, which was not then the case.*

The other circumstance was, the bad condition of the queen's health; her majesty growing every day more unwieldy, and the gout, with other disorders, increasing on her; so that whoever was near the court, for about the two last years of her reign, might boldly have fixed the period of her life to a very few months, without pretending to prophecy. And how little a time the ministers had, for so great a work as that of changing the succession of the crown, and how difficult the very attempt would have been, may be judged, from the umbrage taken by several lords of the church party, in the last year of her reign, who appeared under an apprehension that the very quarrels among the ministers, might possibly be of some disadvantage to the house of Hanover. And the universal declaration both among lords and commons at that time, as well in favour of the Elector, as against the Pretender, are an argument, beyond all conviction, that some years must have been spent in altering the dispositions of the people. Upon this occasion, I shall not soon forget what a great minister then said to me, and which I have been since assured was likewise the Duke of Shrewsbury's opinion: "That there could be no doubt of the elector's undisturbed succession; but the chief difficulty lay in the future disaffection of the church and people, and landed interest, from that universal change of men and measures, which he foresaw would ar-

* This sentence almost implies an attachment to the house of Stuart, derived from experience of that of Hanover: Yet Swift's opinions certainly did not go so far.

rive." And it must be, to all impartial men, above a thousand witnesses, how innocent her majesty's servants were upon this article; that, knowing so well through what channels all favour was to pass upon the queen's demise, they, by their coming into power, had utterly and for ever broken all measures with the opposite party; and that in the beginning of their administration, there wanted not, perhaps, certain favourable junctures, which some future circumstances would not have failed to cultivate. Yet their actions showed them so far from any view toward the Pretender, that they neglected pursuing those measures, which they had constantly in their power, not only of securing themselves, but the interest of the church, without any violence to protestant succession in the person of the elector. And this unhappy neglect I take to have been the only disgrace of their ministry. To prevent this evil, was, I confess, the chief point wherein all my little politics terminated; and the methods were easy and obvious. But whoever goes about to gain favour with a prince, by a readiness to enlarge his prerogative, although out of principle and opinion, ought to provide that he be not outbid by another party, however professing a contrary principle. For I never yet read or heard of any party, acting in opposition to the true interest of their country, whatever republican denominations they affected to be distinguished by, who would not be contented to chaffer public liberty, for personal power, or for an opportunity of gratifying their revenge; of which truth, Greece and Rome, as well as many other states, will furnish plenty of examples. This reflection I could not well forbear, although it may be of little use, farther than to discover my own resent-

ment. And yet, perhaps, that misfortune ought rather to be imputed to the want of concert and confidence, than of prudence or of courage.

I must here take notice of an accusation charged upon the late ministry by the house of commons, that they put a lie, or falsehood, into the queen's mouth, to be delivered to her parliament. Mr Thomas Harley was sent to the Elector of Hanover, with instructions to offer his highness any farther securities, for settling the succession in him and his family, that could consist with her majesty's honour and safety. This gentleman writ a letter to the secretary of state, a little before his return from Hanover, signifying, in direct terms, "That the elector expressed himself satisfied in the queen's proceedings, and desired to live in confidence with her." He writ to the same purpose to one of the under-secretaries; and mentioned the fact as a thing that much pleased him, and what he desired might be as public as possible. Both these letters I have read; and the queen, as she had reason to suppose, being sufficiently authorized by this notice from her minister, made mention of that information in a speech from the throne. If the fact were a lie, it is what I have not heard Mr Harley to have been charged with. From what has since passed in the world, I should indeed be inclined to grant it might have been a compliment to his highness, and perhaps understood to be so by the queen; but, without question, her majesty had a fair excuse to take the elector according to the literal meaning of his words. And if this be so, the imputation of falsehood must remain, where these accusers of that excellent princess's veracity, will, I suppose, not profess at least, an inclination to place it.

I am very willing to mention the point, wherein, as I said, all my little politics terminated, and wherein I may pretend to know that the ministers were of the same opinion; and would have put it in practice, if it pleased God to let them continue to act with any kind of unanimity.

I have already observed, how well it was known at court, what measures the elector intended to follow, whenever his succession should take place; and what hands he would employ in the administration of his affairs. I have likewise mentioned some facts and reasons, which influenced and fixed his highness in that determination, notwithstanding all possible endeavours to divert him from it. Now if we consider the dispositions of England at that time, when almost the whole body of the clergy, a vast majority of the landed interest, and of the people in general, were of the church party; it must be granted that one or two acts, which might have passed in ten days, would have put it utterly out of the power of the successor, to have procured a house of commons of a different stamp, and this with very little diminution to the prerogative; which acts might have been only temporary. For the usual arts to gain parliaments, can hardly be applied with success after the election, against a majority at least of three in four; because the trouble and expence would be too great, beside the loss of reputation. For, neither could such a number of members find their account in point of profit, nor would the crown be at so much charge and hazard, merely for the sake of governing by a small party, against the bent and genius of the nation. And as to all attempts of influencing electors, they would have been sufficiently provided for, by the scheme intended. I suppose it need not

be added, that the government of England cannot move a step, while the house of commons continues to dislike proceedings, or persons employed; at least in an age where parliaments are grown so frequent, and are made so necessary: whereas a minister is but the creature of a day; and a house of lords has been modelled in many reigns, by enlarging the number, as well as by other obvious expedients.

The judicious reader will soon comprehend how easily the legislature at that time could have provided against the power and influence of a court, or ministry, in future elections, without the least injury to the succession, and even without the modern invention of perpetuating themselves; which, however, I must needs grant to be one of the most effectual, vigorous, and resolute proceedings that I have yet met with in reading or information. For the long parliament under King Charles I., although it should be allowed of good authority, will hardly amount to an example.

I must again urge and repeat, that those who charge the Earl of Oxford, and the rest of that ministry, with a design of altering the succession of the crown in favour of the Pretender, will perhaps be at some difficulty to fix the time, when that design was in agitation: for, if such an attempt had begun with their power, it is not easy to assign a reason why it did not succeed; because there were certain periods, when her majesty and her servants were extremely popular, and the house of Hanover not altogether so much, upon account of some behaviour here, and some other circumstances that may better be passed over in silence: all which, however, had no other consequence, than that of repeated messages of kindness and assurance to the elector. During

the last two years of the queen's life, her health was in such a condition, that it was wondered how she could hold out so long: and then, as I have already observed, it was too late and hazardous to engage in an enterprise which required so much time, and which the ministers themselves had rendered impracticable, by the whole course of their former proceedings, as well as by the continuance and heightening of those dissensions, which had early risen among them.

The party now in power will easily agree, that this design of overthrowing the succession, could not be owing to any principle of conscience in those whom they accuse; for they knew very well, by their own experience and observation, that such kind of scruples have given but small disturbance of late years, in these kingdoms. Since interest is therefore the only test, by which we are to judge the intentions of those who manage public affairs, it would have been but reasonable to have shown how the interest of the queen's ministers could be advanced by introducing the Pretender, before they were charged with such an intention. Her majesty was several years younger than her intended successor; and at the beginning of that ministry, had no disorders, except the gout, which is not usually reckoned a shortener of life; and those in chief trust were, generally speaking, older than their mistress: so that no persons had ever a fairer prospect of running on the natural life of an English ministry; considering, likewise, the general vogue of the kingdom, at that time, in their favour. And it will be hard to find an instance in history, of a set of men, in full possession of power, so sanguine as to form an enterprise of overthrowing the government, without the visible prospect of a gene-

ral defection, which (then at least) was not to be hoped for. Neither do I believe it was ever heard of, that a ministry, in such circumstances, durst engage in so dangerous an attempt, without the direct commands of their sovereign. And as to the persons then in service, if they may be allowed to have common sense, they would much sooner have surrendered their employments, than hazard the loss of their heads, at so great odds, before they had tried or changed the disposition of the parliament; which is an accusation, that, I think, none of their libellers have charged upon them, at least till toward the end of their ministry; and then, very absurdly, because the want of time, and other circumstances, rendered such a work impossible, for several reasons which I have already related.

And whoever considers the late queen, so little enterprising in her nature, so much given to delay, and at the same time so obstinate in her opinions, (as restiness is commonly attended with slowness) so great a pursuer of peace and quiet, and so exempt from the two powerful passions of love and hatred; will hardly think she had a spirit turned for such an undertaking: if we add to this, the contempt she often expressed for the person and concerns of the chevalier her brother, of which I have already said enough to be understood.

It has been objected against the late queen and her servants, as a mark of no favourable disposition toward the house of Hanover, that the electoral prince was not invited to reside in England: and at the same time it ought to be observed, that this objection was raised and spread, by the leaders of that party, who first opposed the counsel of inviting him; offering, among other argu-

ments against it, the example of queen Elizabeth, who would not so much as suffer her successor to be declared, expressing herself, that she would not live with her grave-stone always in her sight; although the case be by no means parallel between the two queens. For, in her late majesty's reign, the crown was as firmly settled on the Hanover family, as the legislature could do it: and the question was only, whether the presumptive heir, of distant kindred, should keep his court in the same kingdom and metropolis with the sovereign, while the nation was torn between different parties, to be at the head of that faction which her majesty and the body of her people utterly disapproved; and, therefore, the leaders on both sides, when they were in power, did positively determine this question in the negative. And if we may be allowed to judge by events, the reasons were cogent enough; since differences may happen to arise between two princes the most nearly allied in blood; although it be true indeed, that where the duty to a parent is added to the allegiance of a subject, the consequence of family dissensions may not always be considerable.

For my own part, I freely told my opinion to the ministers; and did afterward offer many reasons for it, in a discourse intended for the public, but stopped by the queen's death,* that the young grandson (whose name I cannot remember) should be invited over to be educated in England; by which, I conceived, the queen might be secure from the influence of cabals and factions; the zealots, who affected to believe the succession in

* "Some Considerations upon the Death of the Queen." See vol. v. p. 416.

danger, could have no pretences to complain; and the nation might one day hope to be governed by a prince of English manners and language, as well as acquainted with the true constitution of church and state. And this was the judgment of those at the helm, before I offered it: neither were they nor their mistress to be blamed, that such a resolution was not pursued. Perhaps, from what has since happened, the reader will be able to satisfy himself.

I have now said all I could think convenient (considering the time wherein I am writing) upon those two points, which I proposed to discourse on, wherein I have dealt with the utmost impartiality, and, I think, upon the fairest supposition, which is that of allowing men to act upon the motives of their interests and their passions; for I am not so weak as to think one ministry more virtuous than another, unless by chance, or by extraordinary prudence and virtue of the prince; which last, taking mankind in the lump, and adding the great counterbalance of royal education, is a very rare accident; and, where it happens, is even then of little use, when factions are violent. But it so falls out, that among contending parties in England, the general interest of church and state, is more the private interest of one side than the other; so that, whoever professes to act upon a principle of observing the laws of his country, may have a safe rule to follow, by discovering whose particular advantage it chiefly is, that the constitution should be preserved entire in all its parts. For there cannot, properly speaking, be above two parties in such a government as ours; and one side will find themselves obliged to take in all the subaltern denominations. of those who dislike the present establishment,

in order to make themselves a balance against the other; and such a party, composed of mixed bodies; although they differ widely in the several fundamentals of religion and government, and all of them from the true public interest, yet, whenever their leaders are taken into power, under an ignorant, unactive, or illdesigning prince, will probably, by the assistance of time or force, become the majority, unless they be prevented by a steadiness, which there is little reason to hope; or by some revolution, which there is much more reason to fear. For, abuses in administration may last much longer than politicians seem to be aware of; especially where some bold steps are made to corrupt the very fountain of power and legislature: in which case, as it may happen in some states, the whole body of the people are drawn in, by their own supposed consent, to be their own enslavers; and where will they find a thread to wind themselves out of this labyrinth? or will they not rather wish to be governed by arbitrary power, after the manner of other nations? For, whoever considers the course of the Roman empire after Cæsar's usurpation, the long continuance of the Turkish government, or the destruction of the gothic balance in most kingdoms of Europe, will easily see how controlable that maxim is, that *res nolunt diu malè administrari*: because, as corruptions are more natural to mankind, than perfections, so they are more likely to have a longer continuance. For, the vices of men, considered as individuals, are exactly the same when they are moulded into bodies; nor otherwise to be withheld in their effects, than by good fundamental laws; in which, when any great breaches are made, the consequence will be the same as in the life of a particular man; whose vices are seldom known to end, but with himself.

TRACTS,
HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL,
DURING THE
REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

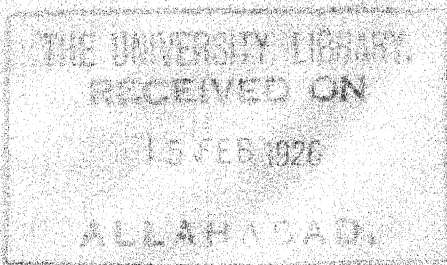
WRITTEN BY SWIFT'S FRIENDS,
AND TO WHICH HE IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE CONTRIBUTED.

This class of Tracts is, for obvious reasons, separated from the genuine and avowed productions of the Author himself.

A TRUE
NARRATIVE
OF WHAT PASSED
AT THE EXAMINATION
OF
THE MARQUIS DE GUISCARD,
AT THE COCKPIT, MARCH 8, 1810-11;

HIS STABBING MR HARLEY ;
AND OTHER PRECEDENT AND SUBSEQUENT FACTS, RELAT-
ING TO THE LIFE OF THE SAID GUISCARD.

FIRST PRINTED FOR JOHN MORPHEW, IN 1711.



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A TRUE NARRATIVE, &c.

THE hero of the following tragedy was originally called the Abbe de la Bourlie. He was brother to the Comte de Guiscard, a lieutenant-general in the French service, who was governor of Namur, when that fortress surrendered to King William. The abbe joined a wild and ill-regulated imagination, to a daring temper and extravagant habits, and a family quarrel easily determined him upon embarking his fate with that of the Camisars, a sect of Protestants, who had taken up arms in the Cevennes, where they long maintained a predatory and desultory warfare. Having established some correspondence among their chiefs, he visited Vienna and the Hague, under the name of the Marquis de Guiscard, and received encouragement both from the Imperial and Dutch governments. In England his success was still greater, for he was named lieutenant-colonel of a refugee regiment, and sent, holding the commission of a lieutenant-general, along with a large body of British troops, destined to land on the southern coast of France. But the British general, Lord Rivers, finding the account which Guiscard gave of his expected support greatly too vague to justify his hazarding a British army in the adventure, held a council of war in Torbay, which came to resolutions so disadvantageous to Guiscard, that the enterprize was altogether abandoned. Being discountenanced by the ministry, after this event, he subsisted chiefly by his art as a gambler, although he was still received into company, and was particularly intimate with Mr St John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, who then led a very dissipated life. It has been supposed, that Guiscard had expectations, from this intimacy, altogether inconsistent with the manner in which it had arisen, and that this disappointment greatly aggravated his resentment of the desperate circumstances to which he was soon reduced. The queen, indeed, ordered him a provision not exceeding 500*l.* a year, which the economy of the lord of the treasury reduced to 400*l.* But even this was uncertain and ill-paid. The conclusion was his opening a treasonable correspondence with France, his apprehension, and his attempt to assassinate Harley.

How much Swift felt for the danger of his friend, we learn from his expressions of agonizing distress, in his private journal to

Stella.* Nor would he have omitted so good an opportunity to shew his zeal for his political party, as this event afforded, had there not occurred a delicacy in drawing up the narrative, which, in fact, occasioned the first coldness between St John and Harley. The former affected to regard himself as the primary object of Guiscard's violence. This was probably true; for Guiscard considered himself as deserted, and even betrayed by St John, who had been formerly his intimate, and against Harley he had no personal subject of animosity. Indeed the whole story tends to confirm the opinion of those who held that St John was the principal object of the assassin's vengeance: But still Harley had suffered the effects of it; and as he and his party unanimously ascribed the frantic violence of a desperate man to a serious intention of relieving France from her most dangerous enemy, Harley and his friends resented St John's attempt to deprive him of a merit acquired at the risque of his life.† To avoid committing himself on so ticklish a point of competition, Swift entrusted Mrs Manley, author of the "New Atalantis," with the task of composing the following narrative, from the facts with which he furnished her. This appears from the following passages in his journal.

"Yesterday was sent me a narrative printed, with all the circumstances of Mr Harley's stabbing. I had not time to do it myself: so I sent my hints to the author of the *Atalantis*; and she has cooked it into a sixpenny pamphlet, in her own style; only the first page is left as I was beginning it. But I am afraid of disobliging Mr Harley or Mr St. John, in one critical point, about it, and so would not do it myself. It is worth your reading, for the circumstances are all true." Journal to Stella, April 16, 1711.—"Guiscard, and what you will read in the narrative, I ordered to be written." In the "Memoirs relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry," Swift says, that he furnished some materials to the editor of this tract.‡ And in the Journal to Stella, 3d November, 1711, § he terms the pamphlet "An Account of Guiscard, by the same woman," (Mrs Manley) but the facts sent by Presto (himself).

It is needless to observe, that the tawdry and declamatory stile of the narrative, is very different from that of our author.

* Vol. ii. p. 195.

† Vol. iii. p. 252.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 250.

§ Vol. iii. p. 396.

A

TRUE NARRATIVE, &c.

THERE is nothing received with more pleasure in history, than the minute passages and circumstances of such facts as are extraordinary and surprising. We often lament to see an important accident nakedly told, stripped of those particularities which are most entertaining and instructive in such relations. This defect is frequent in all historians, not through their own fault, but for want of information. For while facts are fresh in memory, nobody takes care to record them, as thinking it idle to inform the world in what they know already; and by this means the accounts we have of them are only traditional, the circumstances forgotten, and perhaps supplied with false ones, or formed upon probabilities, according to the genius of the writer.

But, beside the informing posterity on such occasions, there is something due to the present age. People at distance are curious and concerned to know the particulars of great events, as well as those in the metropolis; and so are the neighbouring nations. And the relations they receive are usually either very imperfect, or misrepresented on purpose, by the prejudice of party, in the relaters.

I shall endeavour to avoid both these errors, in the fact I am going to relate; and, having made use of some good opportunities, to be informed from the first hands, of several passages not generally known, I hope it will be in my power to give some satisfaction to the public.

About six years ago there came into England a French papist, the younger brother of a noble family in that kingdom, called Antoine de Guiscard, abbot de Borly, near the Cevennes in France. And as it is the usual custom for cadets of quality there to betake themselves to the army or the church, Guiscard chose the latter, and had an abbey given him of a considerable revenue; but, being of a vicious and profligate nature, he fell into the most horrible crimes that a man can commit. Among other instances, it is said, that he seduced a nun. It is likewise reported, that he and his younger brother, suspecting their receiver had cheated, got the poor man to their house, and put him to the torture, to force a discovery from him. Beside keeping a *serrail* in his abbey, when he used to receive a sum together from his revenue, his custom was, to go to Tholouse, and lavish it in all sorts of excesses. A young lady, of a good family, was so unhappy to be prevailed on, to her dishonour, by his brother. Monsieur de Guiscard was afterwards employed to steal her from her father; but, falling in love with her himself, he carried her off from his rival into Switzerland. Satiety not long after succeeding, he was so inhuman to poison the poor unfortunate lady. After his flight, he was hanged in effigy by the magistrates at the principal town in Rouergue, for his intended rebellion. It is agreed on all hands, that upon account of his many enormities, (but, as himself terms them in his Me-

moirs,* “private domestic concerns, and the crying injustice done his family,”) he withdrew to his own lands in the province of Rouergue, contiguous to that part of Languedoc called The Cevennes ; where he endeavoured to raise insurrections among the discontented people, of which he has published a very foolish account : but, having neither credit nor ability for such an undertaking, his success was answerable. He was forced to fly into Switzerland, without taking any measures for the safety of those poor wretches involved with him, and who had been so unhappy to be wrought by his insinuations. Thirty of the Roman catholic persuasion (seduced by Guiscard into the design of rebelling for liberty, not religion) fell under the sentence of the magistrate, and were broken upon the wheel ; though it is said, if Monsieur de Guiscard, upon whom they depended for intelligence, had but delayed his flight only so long as to send notice to those gentlemen of the danger impending, they might all, or at least the greater number of them, have escaped as well as himself.

The Marquis de Guiscard had an early, an undoubted, propensity to mischief and villany, but without those fine parts useful in the cabinet ; he had not capacity to conduct a design, though he might have brain enough to form one ; was wholly unacquainted with war, had never been in the army, a profligate abbot, who knew nothing of the soldier. Yet this man we find immediately

* “ Authentic Memoirs, being Secret Transactions in the Southern Provinces of France, to rescue that Nation from Slavery. Dedicated to the Queen of Great Britain. By the Marquis de Guiscard, Lieutenant-General of the Forces gone upon the present Descent.” This, Archbishop King, in a letter to Swift, calls, justly, a very foolish narrative.

made a colonel of a regiment of horse, and lieutenant-general, with a pension, as it is said, from Holland, as well as from us. To do all this for one wholly ignorant of a camp, was foolish as well as scandalous.

Nor had adversity made any impression upon his manners. His behaviour here was expensive, luxurious, vicious; lavishing at play, and upon women, what was given him for his own support. Beside his continual good fortune with other ladies, he kept two in constant pay, upon whom he made a profuse and regular expence: one of those creatures was married; whom that he might possess with the greater ease, he procured her husband to be pressed; and sent away into the service: a transcript of that state cunning sometimes practised by great politicians (when they would disencumber themselves of an *incommode*) in affairs of the like emergency.

At first there was none more caressed than our foreign favourite. A late minister seldom saw a levee without him; though we admit *that* is not always a proof of being a favourite of those to whom they make their court. There are who crowd themselves where they have done the most sensible injuries, and against whom they have been guilty of the highest offence: but want of shame is one part of an ill man's character: as another branch is, that he can submit to the meanest things.

Monsieur de Guiscard had the misfortune to sink under his character, even to those great men who at first had most indulged him. His parts were too mean to balance or uphold him against a just contempt: he was found a useless villain, whose inferior understanding could not answer expectation. Proving unserviceable, he was con-

sequently discountenanced, dropped by degrees, and afterward totally neglected; his pension ill paid, and himself reduced to extremity.* This put him upon making his peace with France: a common practice of such villains; whose only business being to support an infamous life in fulness of luxury, they never weigh what stands between them and the end.

The Marquis de Guiscard had no religion, knew nothing of principles, or indeed humanity: brutish, bold, desperate, an engine fit for the blackest mischief; revengeful, busy to design, though full of inconsistencies, and preposterous in his management: his schemes impracticable to any less rash and inconsiderate, as may seem at large in those his ill-formed projects of rebellion against his prince; his aspect gloomy and forbidding, no false

* Boyer, after telling us that Guiscard vainly solicited the continuance of a pension he had for some time enjoyed from Holland, gives the following account of his declension:---“ Hereupon the marquis returned to England, where, what with the small stock he had not yet squandered away; what with the scanty supply of 200*l.* he received from the government; what by the generosity of some noble persons, and foreign ministers, who still admitted him to their tables, though with more caution in their discourses than before; he made a shift not only to live, but to keep his equipage. The death of Count Briançon, envy extraordinary from the Duke of Savoy, with whom he lived in strict amity, and confederacy of pleasures, and who contributed most towards the expences of their amorous intrigues, was a sensible mortification to Mr de Guiscard, who, soon after, was obliged to lay down his coach, and dismiss part of his servants; and, at last, to pawn his plate; and run into debt to keep himself from starving. He was indeed reduced so very low, that, for two or three months before he was apprehended for high treason, he hardly eat at his own house; being forced to live upon such common and cheap food as his housekeeper was able to provide for him out of her small stock; and only supporting his spirits by a plentiful repast, or a bottle of wine, now and then, free cost.”—*Political State, ut supra*, p. 299.

indication of the malignancy within. Nor could the evil in his nature be diverted by benefits. The present ministry, regarding him as a man of family, one who had been caressed in England, though they liked neither his principles nor his practice, thought it against the glory of the queen (who is the sanctuary of distressed foreigners) to let a gentleman of such birth want the supports of life; and therefore entered upon measures to pay him four hundred pounds a year, as part of that pension which at first was granted him, and had been for some time discontinued. He could no longer with any pretence be a malecontent; but he would not forego his treacherous design, nor his desire to make his peace at home. Mr Harley discovered his correspondence: he knew he had wrote three letters to France, with advice of our affairs. This discovery was made a fortnight before Monsieur de Guiscard's seizure. Mr Harley was willing to convict him under his own hand; and accordingly took all necessary precaution, to have what letters he should write brought to the secretary's office.* In the mean time, per-

* The account of the discovery of Guiscard's treason is more particularly given in the "Political State of Europe," for which reason the passage is here extracted.

"You have already been informed, that the way he made use of to write to France, was that of Lisbon, whither he sent his letters, under the cover of the Earl of Portmore, to a person who afterwards conveyed them from Lisbon to Paris. His lordship suspecting something, thought fit to open one of those packets; and finding it in a letter directed to a Mr Moreau, a banker in Paris, unsealed that too, and found in it the confirmation of his suspicions. Hereupon, his lordship sent back that letter to his lady, the Countess of Dorchester, with instructions withal, That as she had, by chance, been the happy instrument of the Marquis of Guiscard's treason, she should continue receiving his letters, which

sons were employed, that should give an account of all his motions; such who played with him, drank with him, walked with him; in a word, those who, under the pretence of diversion and friendship, should never lose sight of him, till that day, when he went to a merchant of his ac-

might contain further proofs of it, and deliver them to the ministers of state; which her ladyship did accordingly.

“ For I am credibly informed, that on Monday the 5th of March, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the Marquis of Guiscard sent a packet of letters to the Countess of Dorchester, directed, in French, to the Earl of Portmore, at Lisbon; but the Countess being then abroad, the packet was left upon the table. Upon her ladyship's coming home, between ten and eleven o'clock at night, she was told that the marquis had sent her a packet; but after she had been in her chamber, she said the packet was missing; upon which she appeared extreme angry; examined all her servants about the matter; and promised two guineas reward to any one that should find the said packet. Moreover, the next morning, she sent to the marquis to let him know, that she would be at his house about three in the afternoon; where, being come at the hour appointed, she acquainted him with the loss of his packet. The marquis seemed somewhat surprized and concerned at it; telling her ladyship, ‘ that he wrote to my Lord Portmore with the same freedom he used to speak to him, particularly about the troops that had been promised him, which he doubted would not be sent him; that he also wrote to a person in Portugal that was due to him, which he would have paid to an officer of his acquaintance; but that having sent only copies of the notes, and kept the originals, this loss was not material; but, however, though there was no harm in his letters, yet he should be sorry they should fall into the hands of some people; there being hardly any thing so innocent in itself, but what may be made criminal by misconstruction!’ He afterwards told her ladyship, how improbable it was that his packet should be lost, or that any of her servants should presume to meddle with it, and earnestly desired her to look for it; which the countess promised to do, and so departed. On Wednesday the 7th, the marquis waited upon the countess, to enquire after his packet; but hearing no news of it, he went away without taking leave of her ladyship; and could not forbear telling one of her servants, his suspicion, that she had herself conveyed it away, at which he was much disturbed.”—*Political State of Great Britain* for April 1711, p. 301.

quaintance to the city, and gave him a letter, with this request, "that he would be pleased to forward it, and let it be sent away with his own foreign letters."

This letter was brought to Mr Harley; where he read Monsieur Guiscard's advice to the ministers of France, "that they should invade England as soon as possible, whether they succeed or no; because the mischief it would do us would be irreparable: it would disconcert and divide us, ruin our credit, and do us a vast deal of hurt, &c."

On the eighth of March, the queen's inauguration day, Monsieur de Guiscard, between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, was seized in the Mall, in St James's park,* by a warrant of high treason from Mr Secretary St John, and carried by the queen's messengers to the Cockpit. He seemed then to have taken his resolution, and to determine that his ruin should be fatal to those persons who occasioned it, by desiring leave to send for a glass of sack, some bread and butter, and a *knife*. The woman of the coffeehouse sent him all but the knife, which was accidentally omitted. He was brought into the clerks' room, and kept there till the cabinet council was assembled; in that room he found a *penknife*, and took it away unperceived; which, as it is supposed, he hid in his sleeve; for there was none found in his pockets, which were searched before his examination.

There were present, at the committee of cabinet council, the lord keeper, lord president,† Duke of Ormond, Duke of Newcastle, Duke of Bucking-

* Swift, in a letter to Archbishop King, dated 8th March, 1710-11, says, that he passed Guiscard in the Mall at two o'clock, about an hour before he was taken up, and wondered he did not speak to him.

† Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester.

ham, Duke of Queensberry, Earl Poulet, Lord Dartmouth, Mr Harley, Mr Secretary St John.

[Mr Tilson, Mr Hare, under-secretaries, sat at a table by themselves.]

Monsieur de Guiscard being brought in to be examined, Mr Secretary St John, whose business it was to interrogate him, asked him some questions about his corresponding with France; and whether he had not sent letters thither? Monsieur de Guiscard denied it boldly: mean time his colour came and went. Earl Poulet, before he was brought in, had desired Mr St John to change places with Mr Harley, that Guiscard's face might be full in the light, and his countenance better perceived, in any alteration that might happen at the questions that should be asked him.

The presence of that august assembly, the obligations the criminal had to some in particular, who had honoured him with their favour; and to all in general, as they were of the first rank among a people who had so generously refuted him in his misfortunes; his own guilt, and dread of being detected; might well cause an emotion in the mind and face of the most resolved, most hardened person. He flushed and turned pale, the posture of his feet restless and unassured, his hands in perpetual motion, fumbling in his pocket; which some of that noble assembly reflecting on, could yet well account for, by remembering it was his usual manner: a French air, which has been long since received in England, among some of our fine gentlemen, to a great degree of imitation.

Could one have looked into Guiscard's guilty soul, how terrible at that moment had been the prospect! his dread of conviction, his ingratitude, his treachery, his contempt or desire of death,

his despair of heaven, his love of his native country, his spirit of revenge, embroiled his thoughts, fermented his blood, roused his shame, and worked up his resolution to a pitch of doing all the service to France, and mischief he could to England. Like falling Sampson, to involve in his fate the strength of the enemy: yet he would make one push for life, and, till proof were produced, not give up a cause he could defend so easily as by denying the crime he was charged with; which he did with an undaunted assurance, till Mr Secretary asked him, "If he knew such a gentleman?" naming the merchant with whom he had left the letter? At that, Guiscard rolled his eyes, assured of his ruin, yet surprised and shocked at the approach. The same question being repeated, he answered, "Yes, what of that?" Being pressed again to discover what he knew of his corresponding with France, he continued obstinate in his pretended ignorance; when Mr Secretary St John produced his letter, and, with a force of eloquence inseparable from what he speaks, represented to Monsieur de Guiscard the baseness, the blackness, of his crime; "to betray the queen, his benefactress; Britain, the country that had refuged, supported, trusted, honoured him by the command of her troops with such noble confidence, that made it double villany in him to be a villain:" exhorting him, "yet to be sincere, and give up to their information what he knew of the treacherous design he had formed."

While the secretary's words were making an irresistible impression upon every mind but his to whom they were addressed, the criminal formed to himself the destruction of those two dreadful enemies of France, Mr Harley and Mr St John. It seemed to him too hazardous to attempt the

design at the full board ; not in regard of his own life, (that was already devoted,) but lest they should not be both involved. It appeared reasonable to him, that if, upon the pretence of discovery, he could get Mr St John to withdraw, Mr Harley might possibly be of the party, and he have a chance to murder both before they could be assisted. Accordingly, when he was pressed to discover, he desired to speak with Mr St John apart. The secretary told him, " That was impracticable: he was before the whole committee as a criminal; and what he had to say, must be said to all." Upon Guiscard's persisting to speak only to the secretary, they went to ring the bell, to call in the messengers, to carry him away; which he observing, cried out, " That is hard ! not one word ! *pas un mot !*" and, stooping down, said, "*J'en veux donc à toi.* Then have at thee !" so stabbed Mr Harley. Redoubling the stroke, the penknife broke, which he was not sensible of; but rushing on toward Mr St John, overthrew the clerks' table that stood between. Mr St John saw Mr Harley fall; and cried out, " The villain has killed Mr Harley !" Then he gave him a wound, as did the duke of Ormond and the duke of Newcastle. Mr St John was resolved to have killed him, but that he saw Mr Harley got up and walking about, and heard Earl Poulet cry out, " not to kill Guiscard." The messengers laid hold of him, and tore his coat. He raged, he struggled, he overthrew several of them, with the strength of one desperate or frantic, till at last they got him down, by pulling him backward by the cravat. Like a lion taken in the toils, he foamed, he grinned, his countenance seemed despoiled of the aspect of any thing human; his eyes gleamed fire, despair, and fury. He cried

out to the Duke of Ormond, whilst they were binding him, amid his execrations and his raving, "My Lord Ormond, *Pourquoi ne moi dépêchez vous ?* Why do you not dispatch me?"* The noble duke made this memorable answer, "*Ce n'est pas l'affair des honnêtes gens ; c'est l'affair d'un autre.* It is not the work of gentlemen ; it is the work of others."

Let us turn our eyes from so detestable an object, to another not less surprising, though of a quite different kind ; where we shall behold a gentleman, arrived by long practice to that difficult attainment of possessing his soul in all conditions, in all accidents, whether of life or death, with moderation. This is the man that may truly be said to know himself, whom even assassination cannot surprise ; to whom the passions are in such obedience, they never contend for sway, nor attempt to throw him from his guard. Mr Harley, falling back in his chair, by the redoubled stroke that was given him, and seeing them busy about taking Guiscard, by whom he imagined himself killed, did not call or cry for help : but, getting up as well as he could of himself, applied his handkerchief to the wound, to stop the blood, and keep out the air, walking about the room till they had time to come to him, not

* Monsieur Mesnager says, Mr Harley was stabbed, "by un scélérat François, a French miscreant, at the council-board, where that wretch was brought to be examined ;" and adds, in a strain of national vanity, "They may take notice in England, how good judges we are of men in France ; and believe they have reason to be wary how they entertain any, whom the wisest prince on earth, than whom none sees farther into the merits of men, has determined to be worthless, and not fit to be employed."—Extracted by Mr Nichols from the Negotiations of Mesnager.

complaining nor accusing, nor encouraging them to revenge him upon Guiscard; his countenance serene, unaltered; so that, from his own behaviour, all his friends, particularly his tenderest, Mr St John, hoped he was but slightly hurt. When Busiere, the surgeon, searched the wound, they were all surprised to find it so dangerous; the penknife was struck aslant and buried in the wound, which Mr Harley himself took out, wiped, called for the handle, and said, "They belong to me." He asked "if the wound were mortal, as he had affairs to settle." Even in our incredulous age, we may term his escape a miracle: the blow was struck exactly upon his breast-bone, which broke the knife; had it been an inch lower, it had touched the *diaphragma*, and all the world could not have saved his life: or a nail's breadth deeper it would have reached his heart. I have heard it affirmed, "that, if one should attempt a thousand times at an imitation of Guiscard's design, without his rage and force, not once in that thousand times would it be probable that a life could escape the blow, as Mr Harley's has done." He had a double deliverance, first from the knife striking upon the breastbone, and then from its breaking there; he must else have infallibly been murdered by the repetition of the blow. Neither was the cure less doubtful; the contusion was more dangerous than the wound itself: about a week after, the bruised blood fell down, which held his life in suspense.*

* Boyer resents the dismissal of his countryman, Busiere, from the charge of attending Harley, and imputes the slowness of the cure to that circumstance. "It is observable, that, contrary to the usual custom, Mr Busiere was not sent for any more to at-

He had been ill for some time before, and was not as yet recovered.

As soon as Mr Harley was dressed, he ordered the surgeon to take care of Monsieur de Guiscard; and was himself carried home in a chair, followed by the lamentations and prayers of the people for his recovery, who attended him to his own door with their sighs and sorrows.

The bold marquis, though subdued, was still untamed: his fury, despair, and desire of instant death, made him use his efforts to prevent the good intentions of the surgeon and the assistants. They were forced to keep him down by strength of hand, whilst his wounds were searched and dressed; after which, he was sent to Newgate, where he continued in the same violence of mind. He begged to die, he strove to die, by rubbing the plasters from his wounds; to prevent which, there were persons perpetually employed to watch on each side the bed.*

tend Mr Harley, which, however, did not proceed from an ill opinion of his known abilities, either by Mr Harley himself, or any of his honourable family; but only from the jealousy of a physician, who refused to consult with Mr Busiere, though Mr Green, Mr Harley's chirurgion in ordinary, earnestly desired his assistance. The report then went, that some fault was found with Mr Busiere, for having made too great an incision when he laid the first apparel: but, whoever raised that report, it soon appeared that Mr Busiere, who designed to have even enlarged the said incision at the next dressing, was in the right: the not doing of it having gone near to have cost Mr Harley his life. For, not having yet fully recovered a late illness, the humours gathered with the extravasated blood, and keeping running that way, for above five weeks, his cure was rendered desperate."---*Political State of Great Britain*, Apr. 1711. p. 310.

* Boyer insinuates that he refused to lie in the dirty and mean bed which was provided for him, and kept on his cloaths for three days.

If we read his sentiments in his own Memoirs, we may find they were always disposed to violence. Speaking to those whom he would draw into a confederacy against the king, "That it was better to die once for all, than to die in a manner a thousand times a day, always at the mercy of men who made it their business to embitter their life, and make it insupportable." P. 8. In another place, "How can we better spend some few and uncertain days, which every moment are ended by some disease, by misfortune, or old age, than by making our name famous and immortal?" P. 14.---And thus, "Pusillanimous men, who, for want of courage, dare not attempt any thing at their peril, will never see an end of their misfortune." P. 46.

These being his avowed tenets, may give us some light into a design so execrable, that it were sin to look into it with any other eyes but detestation. Monsieur de Guiscard was to reconcile himself to France; which could not probably be done, but by something more notorious than his disaffection. Upon his deathbed examination, he told the lords, "There was something horrible he had to tell them!--for which, he ought to be torn in pieces!--something inconceivable!--exceeding all barbarity!--there he stopped, as if for breath, a reanimation of spirits, or to recollect what he had to say. After a while, seeing he did not proceed, they reminded him to go on. He repeated those and many more such expressions. Being pressed to proceed, he fell into something very trifling, which he knew they knew already; said, "It was no matter---content---content"---meaning to die.

Upon their examination of him in Newgate, he seemed to boast his resolution and performance; bade them "judge what he was able to do in a

good cause, had they thought fit to employ and trust him, since he could go so far in an ill one." The vanity of his nation kept him company to the last: he valued himself upon his intrepidity, his contempt of death, and thirst of honour, &c. The last time the lords were with him, he desired Mr St John's hand, and said "*Pardonne, pardonne.*" Mr St John replied, "*Je vous pardonne* --- *Dieu vous pardonne!*"---Guiscard repeating "Content---content"---he became delirious.

The roughness of his nature seems to have hindered him from encouraging that remorse which approaching death might occasion; else we should doubtless have had disclosed the blackest scene that any age has shown. It is very well known the eager desire he had for some time expressed to see the queen alone; the pretence of that audience he so earnestly importuned was, "To get his pension assured." He was of late often found in the anti-chamber, and at the back stairs. He generally carried a bottle of poison about him, supposed to answer the disappointment of some foreseen event. This, compared with his own words, and several letters from France and Holland at that time, mentioning it was expected they should hear of a *coup d'éclat en Angleterre*, makes it almost past doubt that he did design to kill the queen;* and failing of his attempt there, stabbed Mr Harley, as by his own confession he would have done Mr St John, because they were the two important lives that gave dread and an-

* Mr St John informed Swift, that the queen did not go to church, or see company, on the day of Guiscard's being arrested, although it was the anniversary of her accession. From this we may infer, either that the ministers believed her person in danger from Guiscard's machinations, or that they wished to impress such an opinion on the public.—See *Swift's Letter to Archbishop King*, 8th March, 1710-11.

guish to that monarch, who has so long and often been the terror of others.

The queen, all merciful and saintlike as she is, had herself the goodness (notwithstanding appearances were against him, in the supposition of his horrible intentions to destroy her) to appoint two surgeons and two physicians to attend him in Newgate, with whatever was befitting a man of family. This gracious treatment could depart only from a mind so conversant with heaven, so near of kindred, as that of our pious queen.

Her cares and prayers were the balm that healed Mr Harley's wound. The honour that was done him by the address of parliament will never be forgotten; nor her majesty's gracious answer. It is remarkable, that when it was brought into the house of lords, the whigs all went out, except one, who raised a weak objection, "that Monsieur de Guiscard was not a papist convict."*

Notwithstanding the surgeons' and physicians' art and care, Monsieur de Guiscard died in Newgate. His wounds, of which he received four in the forepart of his body, were cured; the fifth was in his back, which, the surgeons deposed, was not mortal. The jury gave in their verdict, "That his bruises were the cause of his death." It appeared, upon the examination of Mr Wilcox, the queen's messenger,† that it was he that wounded the marquis in the back, and gave him those bruises of which he died. Monsieur de Guiscard, in struggling with Wilcox, threw him against a window, which caused him to void above a quart of blood the same night.

* He was so termed in the address.

† A man of great personal strength, yet not able to secure Guiscard without recourse to severe violence.

His resolution, or rather obstinacy, continued to the last: he would not permit his wounds to be dressed, nor accepted of any nourishment but what was forced upon him: he made no profession of religion, had no show of remorse or contrition, nor desired the assistance of a priest.* He was privately interred, by order from the court---a mercy no nation but ours would have conferred upon a spy, a traitor, and an assassin!

Is it not obvious to all England, what had been our distress, in the confusion wherein so long a run of mismanagement has plunged us, if heaven

* Boyer, whose account of this remarkable transaction we have frequently referred to, is extremely indignant at this affirmation, which indeed forms the chief ground of his charge of inaccuracy against this narrative.

“To return to the assassin, it is to be observed, that, besides the several bruises, he received five considerable wounds, viz. two under each pap; one below the right side of the belly; another on the left hip; and the fifth in the back, near the left side: But this last being covered by his arms, that were tied behind, Mr Busiere could not possibly take notice of it, and therefore dressed only, that day, the other four wounds. While he was performing his office, Mr de Guiscard, who thought himself near his end, and began to feel the remorse of a guilty conscience, desired him to send for a priest. But Mr Busiere told him, he was acquainted with none: his business was only to dress him, and if he wanted a priest he must apply to others. As soon as Mr de Guiscard's wounds were dressed, he was committed to the prison of this city, appointed for felons, traitors, and other criminals, called Newgate, whither he was carried under a strong guard.”—To which the following note is added: “Yet the author of the Narrative before quoted, has the assurance to affirm, p. 33, ‘that his resolution, or rather obstinacy, continued to the last; he would not permit his wounds to be dressed, nor accepted of any nourishment but what was forced upon him: he made no confession of religion, had no shew of remorse or contrition, nor desired the attendance of a priest;’ which is downright falsity, as well as many other passages contained in that account.”—*Political State of Great Britain*, for April 1711, Lond. 1711, p. 311.

had permitted the knife of a barbarous foreigner to have robbed us of a minister, whose conduct, wise, stedfast, vigorous, extricates our affairs, and embroils the enemy? Does not the flourishing church of England owe him all things for her deliverance from presbytery and atheism; a miracle no less seasonable, than when she was assaulted by all the force of Rome? Were he not a sincere worshipper at our increasing altars, would he not reduce rather than multiply? * Is not even our gracious sovereign indebted to him, for scattering those persons from about her, whose excessive tyranny strove to ruin all those who aimed to come at the queen but by them? Does he not sacrifice his quiet to the good of his country, without enriching his own family with her treasure, or decking himself with her honours; though she has none but what, with pride and joy, she is ready to bestow upon him? Was not his blood (even now devoted to the restless genius of France) spilt in dread of his pursuits and endeavours to reduce that monarch to humanity and reason? Is not his modesty so excessive, that he conceals, from those persons who have treated him as a traitor, the extent of his power, lest he should seem to insult their disgrace? Free from that false delicacy which so often makes people uneasy at what either the mistaken or our enemies say of us; his actions have their foundation on solid judgment, propped by a most extensive genius, unlimited foresight, and immovable prudence. France records her Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louvois: we talk with veneration of the Councils; but posterity shall boast of Harley, as a prodigy, in whom the spring is pure as the stream;

* The act for building fifty new churches.

not troubled by ingratitude or avarice, nor its beauty deformed by the feature of any vice. The coming age will envy ours, a minister of such accumulated worth; they will see and know how happy we were. Why then should we ourselves be wilfully blind, or wilfully ignorant of it! Is it not his distress to be born among a people so divided? Could he in any other country have failed of universal love and veneration? How long shall our divisions make us the sport and proverb of the neighbouring nations? Monsieur Quillet, by the purity of his Latin, has diffused our character throughout the world; and when the curious would be informed of the genius of the British people, the learned refer to him: It is thought the most beautiful part of his *Callipædia*; and, however the spirit of the author may have suffered by the change, I will present it to the reader in the English translator's words: *

“ If then from Calais you design to land
On England's vile, unhospitable strand,
There you shall find a race of monstrous men,
Where mangled princes strew the cylops' den.
A false, ungrateful, and rebellious brood,
New from a slaughter'd monarch's sacred blood.
They break all laws, all fancies they pursue,
And follow all religions but the true.
All there are priests, each differently prays,
And worships heaven ten thousand different ways.
If by the mob the canting fool's admir'd,
The brother's gifted, and the saint inspired.
Hence the fanatics rave, and wildly storm,
Convert by pistol, and by pike reform.
Nor are th' enthusiasts so abhorrent grown
To holy ceremonious rites alone:
An Englishman on all extremes will run,
And by consent be wilfully undone.

* I have followed my predecessor, Mr Nichols, in inserting Rowe's translation.

If an opinion thwart what ancients wrote,
He catches it, and bosoms up the thought.
Alcides would his club as soon resign,
As he a darling heresy decline.

“ Yet we must do the sons of England right :
Some stars shine through the horror of the night.
For navigation, and for skill renown'd,
In sailing the terraqueous globe around.
To them no shore's untried, no sea's unknown,
Where waves have murmur'd, and where winds have blown.
Typhis and Jason, who in Argo came,
Lay no pretensions to so just a fame,
As Ca'endish, Willoughby, and Drake's immortal name.” }
}

Is it not time to redeem our character, that the world, in applauding our courage, may no longer object our divisions? Though we disagree in religion; yet, for common good, we should, methinks, be glad to unite in politics. Our ceremonies may differ, but our essentials are the same; and to people of reason, one would imagine, there needed not much persuasion, to join in those advantageous particulars, reputation and interest.

Parties break their force against one another, do the work of our foes, are weakened by perpetual animosities, hate their adversary at home much more strenuously than a foreign enemy, incapacitate themselves from doing all the injury they should to France, all the good they ought to England. Our piques and distastes for trifles have run us up to frenzy; the world beholds the hatred and aversion among us as lunacy in our blood, incurable but by letting forth; they foresee and long for a civil war, to reduce us to misery and reason; they flatter themselves that our dissensions tend that way, and prophecy they can have no end but with our ruin.

It is ourselves only can disappoint the hopes of our enemies, and extricate ourselves. The very Mahometans claim our pity, for being misled by

the grand impostor; and shall a fellow christian be hated? Have we no arguments but bitterness and reproach? must we continue as violent against our neighbour at home, as brave in the field abroad? If we were not all Britons, or had different interests, something might be said for that eager desire of ruin, so conspicuous in the contending parties.

How ridiculous it appears to a reasonable man, who reflects how greatly our happy constitution is envied by our enemies, and how little valued or enjoyed by ourselves! We boast of liberty, and yet do all we can to enslave others to our opinions; meanwhile the common interest of the island is lost or forgotten, in the desire of gratifying our particular revenge and aversions.

We have now a queen and ministry of consummate piety, prudence, and abilities, who know the true interest of England, and will pursue it. The church is delivered from oppression and fears; religion secured, according to every Englishman's heart's desire. What should we next consider, but the interest of the body politic? Which way can that be so effectually carried on, as by calming our heats and animosities, by taking off the veil of prejudice and party which so long has blinded us; to have every individual consider what would be for the good of the whole, and sincerely to give into it? Were these measures faithfully pursued, France could never be formidable to England; nor the protestant religion here be under any apprehension from the restless and encroaching spirit of the Roman.

THE
CONGRATULATORY SPEECH

OF

WILLIAM BROMLEY, Esq.

SPEAKER OF THE HONOURABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

TO

THE RIGHT HON. ROBERT HARLEY, Esq.

CHANCELLOR OF HER MAJESTY'S EXCHEQUER,

UPON HIS ATTENDING THE SERVICE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, ON
THURSDAY, THE 26TH OF APRIL, 1711; TOGETHER WITH
THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER'S ANSWER.

[This Speech of the Speaker to Mr Harley, with his Answer, were published by order of the House. I know no reason for their being considered as Swift's composition, excepting their being inserted in Mr Nichols' excellent edition.]

Mercurii, 11 Die Aprilis, 1711.

Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente,*

That when the Right Honourable Robert Harley, Esq. Chancellor of her Majesty's Exchequer, attends the service of this House, the Speaker do, in the name of this House, congratulate the said Mr Harley's escape and recovery, from the barbarous and villanous attempt made upon him by the *Sieur de Guiscard*.

Veneris, 27 Die Aprilis, 1711.

Ordered,

That Mr Speaker be desired to print his congratulatory Speech to Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, yesterday, with the Answer of Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer to the same.

Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer,

When the barbarous and villanous attempt made upon you by the Sieur de Guiscard, a French Papist, was communicated to this House, they immediately declared, they were most deeply affected to find such an instance of inveterate malice against you. And, observing how you have been treated by some persons, they concluded, they had reason to believe, That your fidelity to her majesty, and zeal for her service, had drawn upon you the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction.

In this opinion they must be abundantly confirmed, since the lords and the queen have concurred with them.

Sir, If your fidelity to her majesty, and zeal for her service, could ever be doubted, and wanted any testimonials to prove them, you have now the most honourable, the most ample, and the most undeniable, that can be given; and after these, it would be an unpardonable presumption in me, to imagine I could add to them, by saying any thing of your faithful discharge of those great trusts you have been honoured with. To which your eminent abilities at first recommended you, and your distinguishing merits have since justified her majesty's wise choice.

Your very enemies, sir, acknowledge this, by

their unwearied and restless endeavours against your person and reputation.

God be thanked, they have been hitherto disappointed; and have not been able to accomplish what their inveterate, but impotent, malice had designed against both.

And may the same Providence, that has wonderfully preserved you from some unparalleled attempts; and that has raised you up to be an instrument of great good in a very critical juncture, when it was much wanted, continue still to preserve so invaluable a life, for the perfecting of what is so happily begun; that we may owe to your counsels, and to your conduct (under her majesty) the maintenance and firm establishment of our constitution in church and state.

These expectations, sir, have filled this House with an inexpressible satisfaction for your escape and recovery, which they have unanimously commanded me to congratulate. I do therefore, in the name of this House, congratulate your escape and recovery from the barbarous and villanous attempt made upon you by the *Sieur de Guiscard*.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Answer.

Mr Speaker,

The honour this House has done me, which you have expressed in so obliging a manner, is a sufficient reward for the greatest merit. I am sure, it so far exceeds my deserts, that all I can do or suffer for the public, during the whole course of my life, will still leave me in debt to your goodness.

By the acceptance you have vouchsafed my poor service, how noble an encouragement, worthy of you, has this House given all our fellow subjects, to exert themselves in the glorious cause of preserving the constitution in church and state, and in loyalty to the best of sovereigns!

This, without doubt, was your view; and this may convince all who are not designedly obstinate, how dear the true interest of the nation is to this Honourable Assembly.

Sir, The undeserved favour I have received this day, is deeply imprinted in my heart; and whenever I look upon my breast, it will put me in mind of the thanks due to God, my duty to the queen, and that debt of gratitude and service I must always owe to this Honourable House, to you, Mr Speaker, and to every particular member.

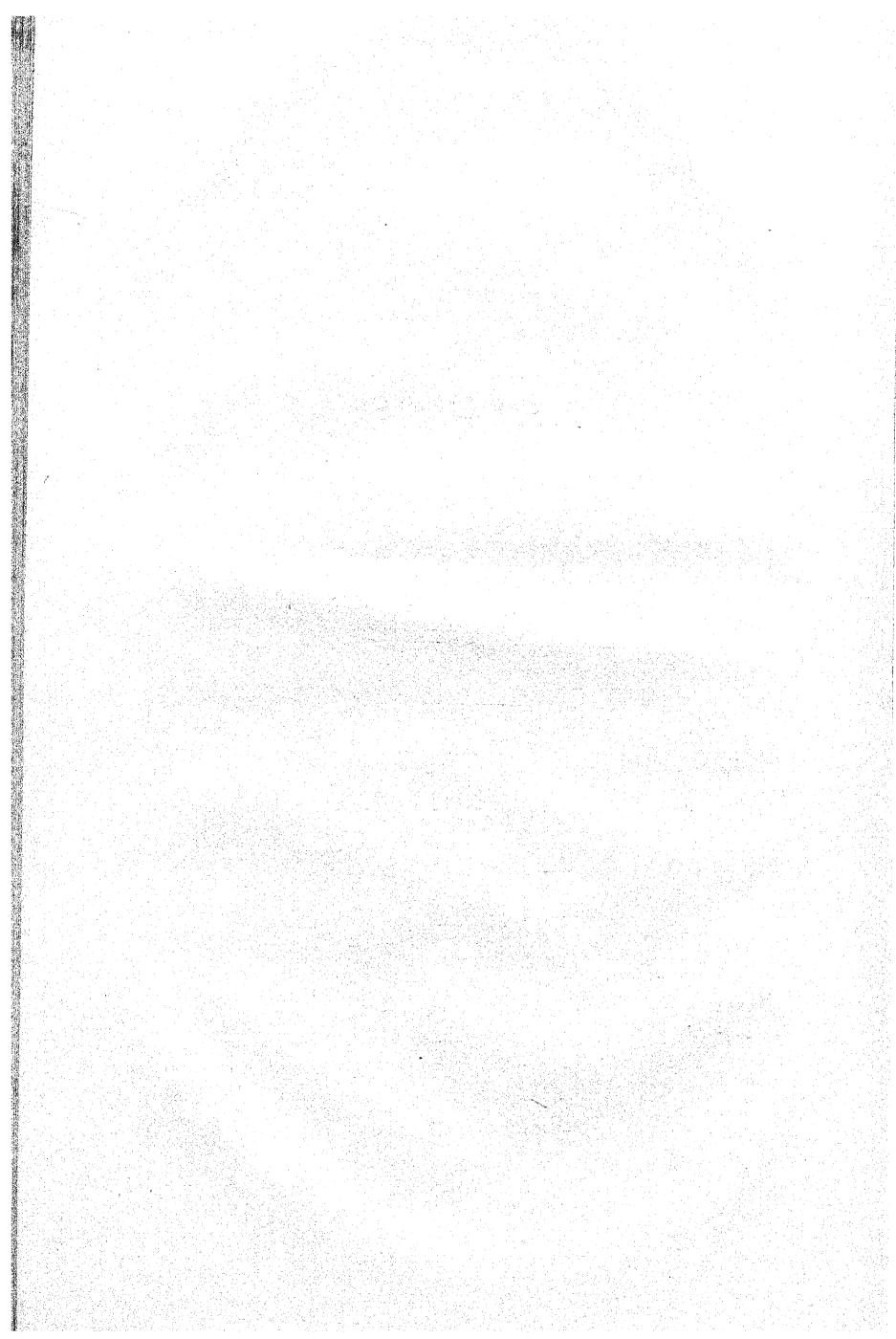
THE
REASONS

WHICH INDUCED
HER MAJESTY

TO CREATE THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
ROBERT HARLEY, ESQ.

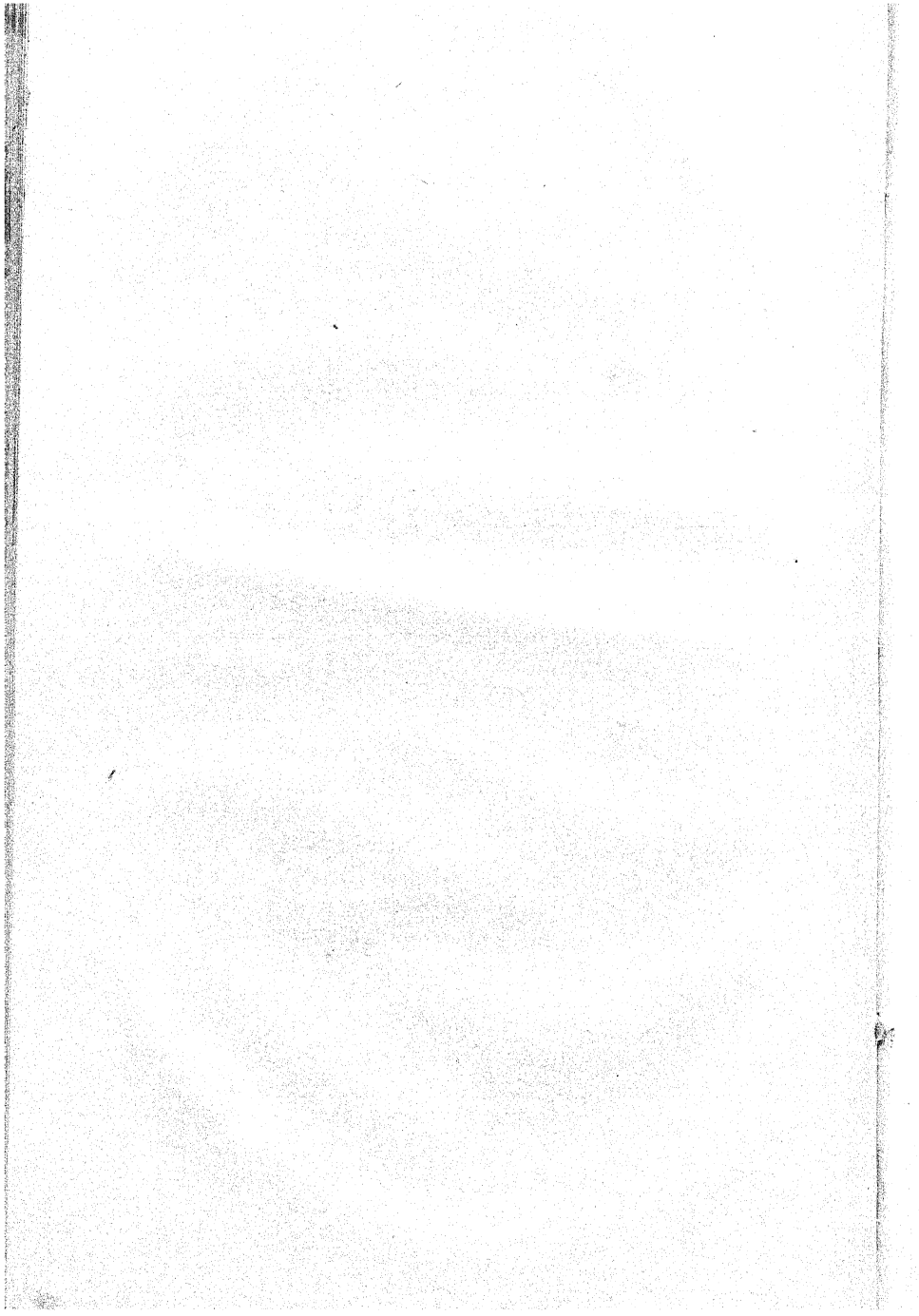
A PEER OF GREAT BRITAIN.

MAY 24, 1711.



THE REASONS, &c.

It was objected by Harley's enemies, that this patent was drawn up in a more elaborate and enlarged stile of encomium than was consistent with the brevity and dignity of a royal deed. It was also insinuated, that he gave way to an unusual gratification of personal vanity in having it printed and dispersed. There is every reason to think, that Swift was consulted in composing an instrument to which Harley attached so much importance.



PREAMBLE

TO

THE PATENT FOR CREATING THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE ROBERT HARLEY, ESQ.
EARL OF OXFORD, &c.

QUANTAM ab æquô Principe gratiam promereri potuit Vir illustri et perantiquâ gente ortus, ingenio ad magna natus, ad majora eruditione omnigena institutus, diuturno rerum civilium usu exercitus, in diversissimis administrandæ Reipublicæ muneribus summa cum laude, et suo satis cum periculo versatus: Tantam perdilectus et perquam fidelis Consiliarius noster Robertus Harley merito a nobis consequi debet, Hic, unus à frequentissimo communium consilio per tres continuo vices, orator evocatus est, immo unus, et illam Cathedram tenuit, et nobis eodem tempore ab Epistolis fuit, utrique haud quaquam impar provincia, officia enim adeo inter se visa dissidere, illi facile erat conciliare qui hominum animos temperare atque inflectere pari prudentia et authoritate potuit, qui populi jura sic tueri novit ut nihil interim Majestati Regiæ decederet, quique penitus intellexit quam pulchre consistere posset cum Libertate Imperium. Geminò hoc munere decurso, cum respirasset paululum, Ærarii nostri curam Quæstor sustinuit, late grassanti peculatus pesti coercendæ, novisque ad alterum orbem commercii instituendis

consuluit et mirè sagax laborantibus fisci rebus tam opportune nuper succurrit ut liberatam ab eo fidem publicam laudet Senatus gaudeant cives nos etiam (a communibus enim commodis nostra nunquam devellimus) haud parum lætemur, quare viro de nobis nostrisque omnibus præclare merito honores, et ipsi et ipsius genti jam diu debitos decernimus. Ad hoc et nostra nos voluntas ducit, et totius Britanniae vox hortatur. Quem enim ob sua in nos fidissima studia perditorum hominum odiis obnoxium commemorant, quem a nefarii parricidae furore servatum gratulantur Regni nostri ordines, is ne frustra servatus sit, admonent. Eorum lubentur favemus votis, qui ad nos tam honesto utriusque Domus Senatoriae suffragio commendatus accedit, suum inter procures, quibus jampridem nobili majorum sanguine et multijuga generis serie conjunctus est, habeat locum, et ab illa urbe ubi egregie vigent literæ literarum ipse sciens et literatorum fautor, titulos suos feliciter faustaque auspicetur.

Sciatis, &c.

Whatever favour may be merited from a just Prince, by a man born of an illustrious and very ancient family, fitted by nature for great things and by all sorts of learning qualified for greater; constantly employed in the study of state affairs, and with the greatest praise, and no small danger, exercising variety of offices in the government; so much does our well-beloved and very faithful counsellor Robert Harley, deserve at our hands: he, who, in three successive parliaments, was una-

nimously chosen speaker; and, at the same time that he filled the chair, was our principal secretary of state: in nowise unequal to either province. Places, so seemingly disagreeing, were easily reconciled by one, who knew how, with equal weight and address, to moderate and govern the minds of men: one who could preserve the rights of the people, without infringing the prerogative of the crown; and who thoroughly understood how beautifully government could consist with liberty. This double task being performed: after some respite, he bore the weight of our exchequer as chancellor, and thereby prevented the farther plundering of the nation; and also provided for the settling of a new trade to the South Seas; and (by rescuing public credit) so opportunely relieved the languishing condition of the treasury, as to deserve thanks from the parliament, blessings from the citizens, and from us (who never separate our own interests from the public) no small approbation. Therefore we decree to the man that has so eminently deserved of us and of all our subjects, those honours which were long since due to him and his family; being induced thereto by our own good pleasure, and the suffrage of all Great Britain: for we take it as an admonition, that he should not in vain be preserved, whom the states of our realm have testified to be obnoxious to the hatred of wicked men, upon account of his most faithful services to us, and whom they have congratulated upon his escape from the rage of a flagitious parricide.* We gladly indulge their wishes, that he, who comes thus recommended to us by so honourable

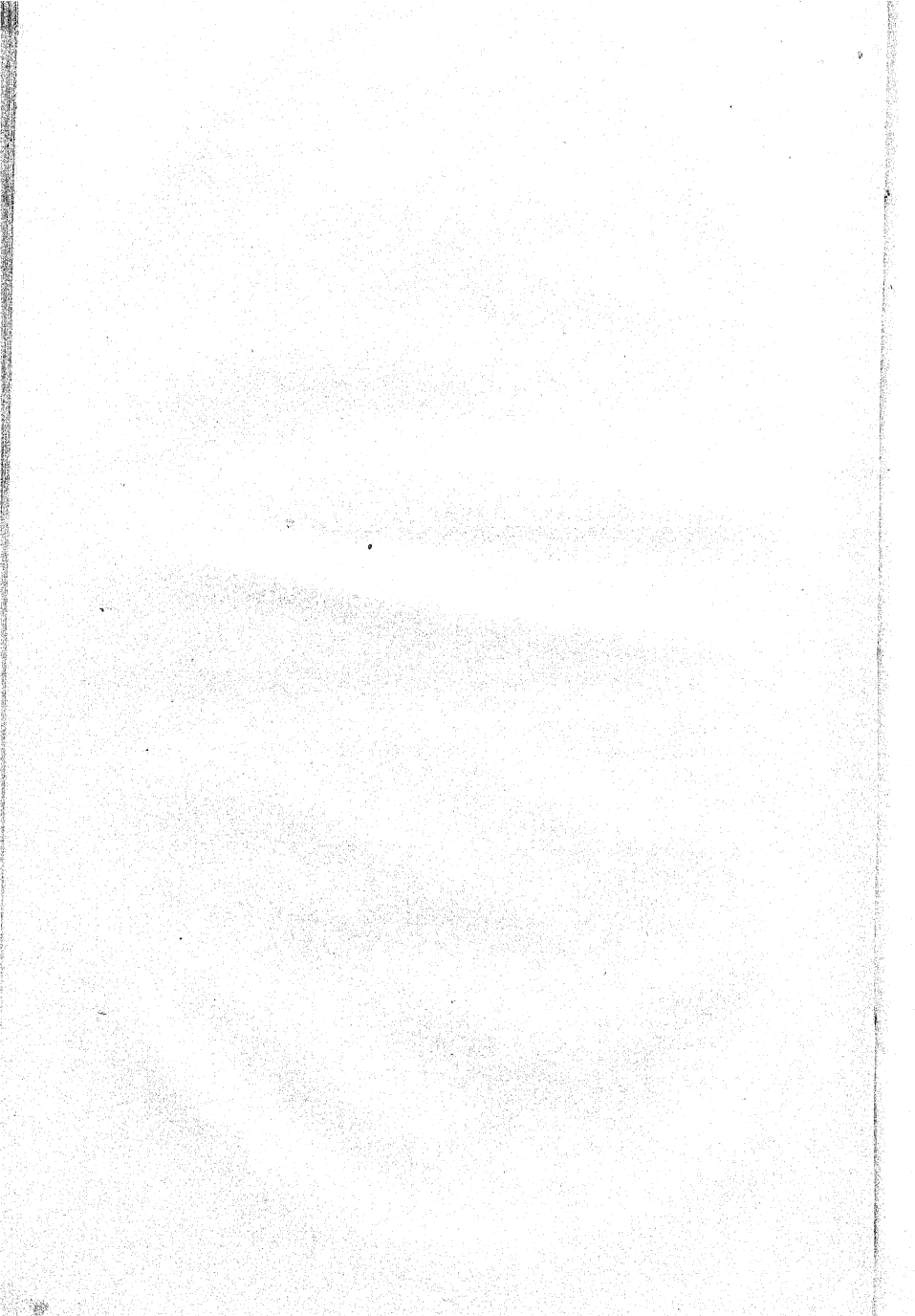
* Guiscard.

a vote of both houses of parliament, should have his seat among the peers, to many of whom his family has been long allied; and that he, who is himself learned, and a patron of learning, should happily take his title from that city, where letters so gloriously flourish.* Now know ye, &c.

* Oxford.

A
LEARNED COMMENT
UPON
DR HARE'S EXCELLENT SERMON,
PREACHED (SEPT. 9, 1711,) BEFORE
THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,
ON THE
SURRENDER OF BOUCHAIN;
BY AN ENEMY TO PEACE.
ET MULTIS UTILE BELLUM.

FIRST PRINTED FOR JOHN MORPHEW, IN 1711.



LEARNED COMMENT, &c.

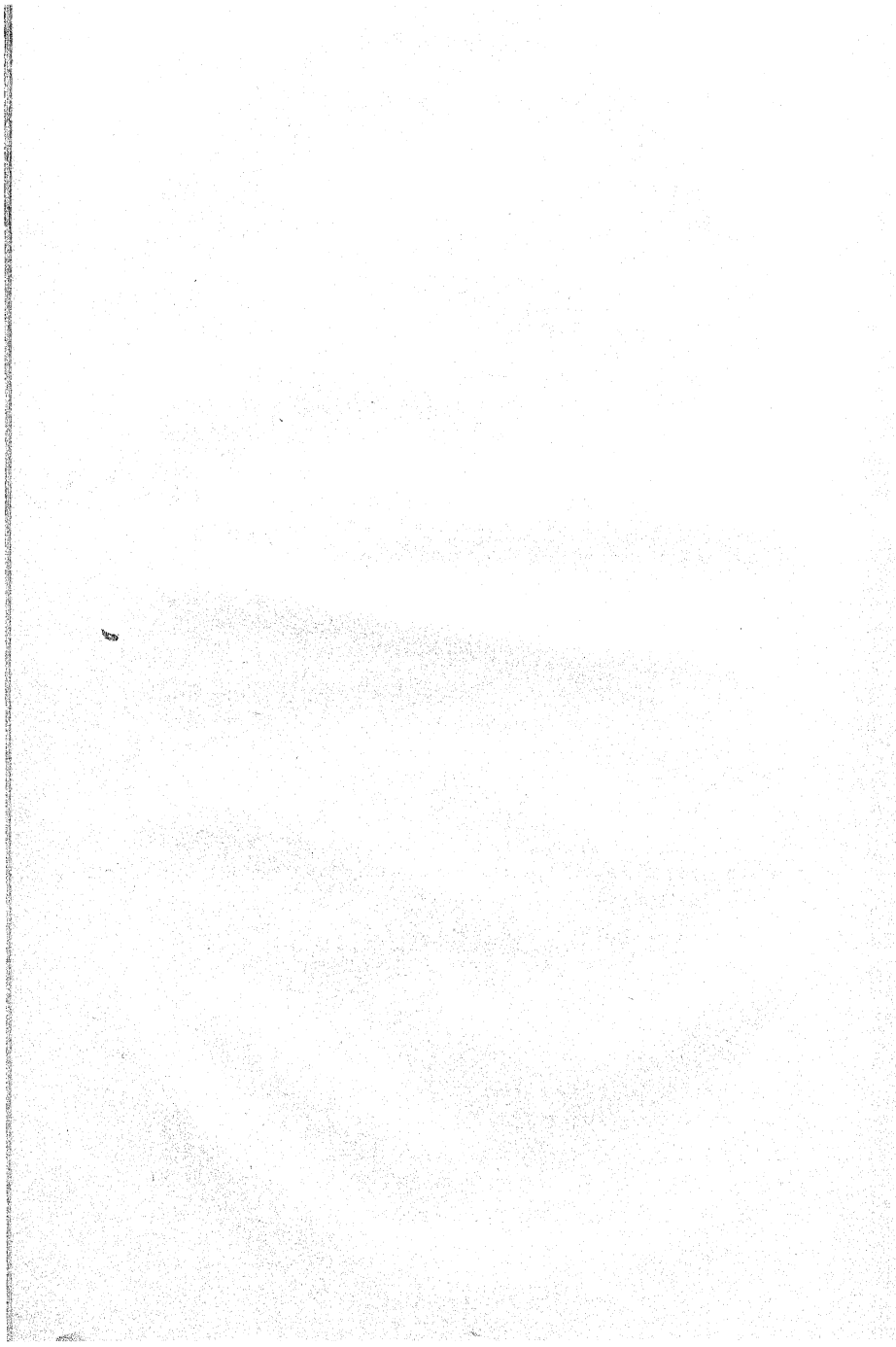
DR FRANCIS HARE, afterwards, successively, Dean of Worcester and St Paul's, and Bishop of St Asaph and Chichester, was, during the war in Flanders, Chaplain-general to the Queen's forces. Being appointed to preach before the Duke of Marlborough and his army, upon a day of thanksgiving, for passing the enemy's lines at Bouchain, he was naturally led to launch forth upon the objects of the war, and the hazard of their being disappointed by a premature peace. For this he was chastised by the following comment, written by Mrs Manley, under the inspection of Swift, as appears from the following passages of his Journal:

"I have got a set of Examiners; and five pamphlets, which I have either written or contributed to, except the best, which is the 'Vindication of the Duke of Marlborough,' and is entirely of the author of the *Atalantis*."—*Journal to Stella*, October 22, 1711.

"Comment on Hare's Sermon, by the same woman; only hints sent to the printer from Presto, to give her."—*Ibid.* Nov. 3.

Judging, however, from internal evidence, it would appear that Swift's concern in this tract is much greater than in that upon the subject of Guiscard. The reader may compare it with the "Preface to the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction," to which, in many passages, it is not inferior in poignancy.

Dr Hare was the author of some pamphlets on the war, in which the conduct of the Duke of Marlborough, and of the allies, were vindicated against the assaults of Swift. These are entitled, "The Allies and the late Ministry defended, in Four Parts;" "The Negotiations for Peace considered, in Letters to a Tory Member;" "The Barrier Treaty vindicated."



A

LEARNED COMMENT, &c.

I HAVE been so well entertained by reading Dr Hare's sermon, preached before the Duke of Marlborough and the army, in way of thanksgiving for passing the lines and taking Bouchain, that I cannot forbear giving part of my thoughts thereupon to the public. If a colonel had been to preach at the head of his regiment, I believe he would have made just such a sermon; which before I begin with, I must beg leave to consider the preface, and that stale topic in the publisher, of "printing a discourse without the author's leave, by a copy got from a friend; being himself so modest, that he would by no means hear of printing what was drawn up in so much haste." If the thing be not worth publishing, either the author is a fool, or his friend a knave. Besides, the apology seems very needless for one that has so often been complimented upon his productions; of which we have seen several without either art or care, though published with this famous doctor's consent. A good argument, indeed, is not the worse for being without art or care; but an ill one is nothing without both. If plainness and honesty made amends for every hasty foolish composition, we should never have an end, and every dunce that blotted paper would have the same plea. But the good doctor's zeal for the

continuation of the war must atone for the rest of his defects. His politics and his divinity seem to be much of a size; there is no more of the last in his sermon, than what is to be found in the text; he is so great an enemy to a partition, that he scorns to divide even that.

He begins, p. 62,* "I cannot but think that one of the properest acknowledgments to God, for the manifest tokens we receive of his good providence, is to consider their natural tendency, and what is the true use which he has put into our power to make of them." May we not very well query whether this be sense or truth? The properest acknowledgments to God, for the manifest tokens, &c. is to offer him thanks and praise, and obey his laws.

P. 63. "Persevere bravely in the just and necessary war we are engaged in, till we can obtain such a peace, as the many successes he has given us naturally lead to, and, by the continuance of the divine favour, must end in, if we be content to wait his leisure, and are not, by our impatience and misgiving fears, wanting to ourselves." At this rate, when must we expect a peace? May we not justly inquire, whether it be God's or the Duke of Marlborough's leisure he would have us wait? He is there in an army well paid, sees nothing but plenty, nay profuseness in the great officers, and riches in the general. Profuseness, when they every day, in their turns, receive the honour of his grace's company to dinner with them. At that sumptuous table which his grace

* These references are borrowed from Mr Nichols' edition, in which they are stated to be adapted to the Bishop's works, 4 vols. 8vo. 1746.

once a week provides for himself and them, the good doctor never considers what we suffer at home, or how long we shall be able to find them money to support their magnificence. I should think the queen and ministry, next under God, the best judges what peace we ought to make. If by our impatience he meant the army, it was needless and absurd; if he meant our impatience here at home, being so far removed from the scene, and in quite another view, he can be no judge of that.

P. 64. "One would think a people, who, by such a train of wonderful successes, were now brought to the very banks of Jordan, could not be so fearful as to stop there, or doubt with themselves whether or no they should try to pass the river (quere, Senset or Scheldt?), and get possession of the land which God had promised them; that they could, with their own eyes, take a view of it (applied to Picardy), and behold it was exceeding good, &c." Our case and the Israelites is very different. What they conquered, they got for themselves; we take a view of the land, as they did, and "behold it to be exceeding good," but good for others. If Joshua had spent many years in conquering the Amorites, (with the loss of infinite blood and treasure) and then delivered the land over to the Gibeonites, the Israelites might have had good reason to murmur; and that has been our case.

Ibid. "It seems incredible, that men should for many years together struggle with the greatest difficulties, and successfully go through innumerable dangers, in pursuit of a noble end, an end worthy of all the pains and trouble they are at; and yet lose their courage as they gain ground, &c." Though this be a falsity; yet to lose cou-

rage as we gain ground may very probably happen, if we squander our courage by the yard, and gain ground by the inch.

Ibid. "Of all the virtues human nature would aspire to, constancy seems to be that it is least made for. A steady pursuit of the same end, for any long time together, has something in it that looks like immortality," (hath not this flight something in it that looks like nonsense?) "and seems to be above the reach of mortal man." (How does a steady pursuit look like immortality? If it looks like immortality, it certainly seems to be above the reach of mortal man.) The "earth we live on, the air we breathe, the nourishment we take, every thing about us, is by nature subject to continual change; our bodies themselves are in a perpetual flux, and not a moment together the same as they were. What place then can there be for a constant steady principle of action amidst so much inconstancy?" If these reasons were true, it would be impossible not to be inconstant. With this old beaten trash of a flux, he might go on a hundred pages on the same subject, without producing any thing new: it is a wonder we had not the grave observation, "That nothing is constant but inconstancy." What does all this end in? His first heat and edge shows us indeed a flux of what we did not expect.

P. 66. "And though the end we aim at be the same it was, and certainly nearer." This puts me in mind of a divine, who, preaching on the day of judgment, said, "There was one thing he would be bold to affirm, That the day of judgment was nearer now, than ever it was since the beginning of the world." So the war is certainly nearer an end to-day than it was yesterday, though it does not end these twenty years.

Ibid. "Such fickle, inconstant, irresolute creatures are we in the midst of our bravest resolutions. When we set out, we seem to look at what we are aiming at through that end of the perspective that magnifies the object, and it brings it nearer to us; but, when we are got some way, before we are aware we turn the glass, and, looking through the little end, what we are pursuing seems to be at a vast distance, and dwindled almost into nothing." This is strange reasoning. Where does his instrument-maker live? We may have the same constancy, the same desire to pursue a thing, and yet not the same abilities. For example, in hunting, many accidents happen; you grow weary, your horse falls lame, or in leaping a hedge throws you: you have the same reason to pursue the game, but not the same ability.

P. 67. "Their zeal, perhaps, flames at first; but it is the flame of straw, it has not strength to last. When the multitude once begin to be weary and indifferent, how easily are they then seduced into false measures! how readily do they give into suspicions against those who would encourage them to persevere, while they are fond of others, who, to serve themselves, fall in with their complaints, but at the bottom, mean nothing but their own interest!" How base and false soever this reproach be, I have set it almost at length, that I may not be charged with unfair quotation. By the company the doctor keeps, and the patrons he has chosen, I should think him an undoubted judge when people mean their own interest, but that I know, conversing only on one side generally gives our thoughts the same turn; just as the jaundice makes those that have it think all things yellow. This writer is preju-

diced, and looks upon the rest of the world to be as self-interested as those persons from whom he has taken his observation. But, if he means the present ministry, it is certain they could find their own interest in continuing the war as well as other people; their capacities are not less, nor their fortunes so great, neither need they be at a loss how to follow in a path so well beaten. Were they thus inclined, the way is open before them; the means that enriched their predecessors, gave them pretence to continue their power, and made them almost necessary evils to the state, are now no longer a secret. Did their successors study their own interest with the same zeal as they do that of the public, we should not have the doctor in these agonies for fear of a peace; things would be then as he would have them; it would be no longer a flame of straw, but a solid fire, likely to last as long as his poor countrymen had any materials to feed it. But I wonder he would talk of those who mean their own interest; in such an audience, especially before those "who fall in with their complaints," unless he had given it quite another turn, and bestowed some of his eloquence in showing, what he really thinks, that nothing in nature is so eligible as self-interest, though purchased at the price of a lasting war, the blood and treasure of his fellow subjects, and the weal of his native country.

P. 68. "This is a misfortune, which free assemblies, and popular or mixed governments, are almost unavoidably exposed to; and it is for this reason, so few nations have ever steadily pursued, for any long time, the measures at first resolved on, were they never so right and just; and it is for the same reason that a single power seldom fails at long run to be too hard for a confederacy."

A very good argument for this war; a good overture and warning, to make a general for life. It is an excellent panegyric upon arbitrary power; at this rate, the French king is sure to get the better at last. This preacher must certainly be an admirable judge of popular assemblies, by living in an army. Such poor writers get a rote and common place of talking by reading pamphlets, and from thence presume to make general observations upon government, and set up for statesmen. If the Duke of Marlborough be Moses, what promised land is he bringing us to, unless this sermon be preached only to the Dutch? He may have promised them land, and they him something else, and both been as good as their words. In his allegory of the people brought out of Egypt, does the doctor mean our army? The parallel must then be drawn to make the war last forty years, or else it can be no parallel: we may easily see how near the comparison grows. Moses was accused by certain Israelites; "Is it a small thing," say they, "that thou hast brought us out of a land that flowed with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, except thou make thyself altogether a prince over us?" Hath the Duke of Marlborough been suspected of any such design? Moses was wroth, and said unto the Lord, "Respect not thou their offering: I have not taken one ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them."* And to the same purpose Samuel, "Whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes with? and I will restore

* Num, xvi, 15.

it you!"* Does the British Moses speak thus to the people? is there any sort of agreement between them? Nor are we sure of God's commands to go up against the Amorites, p. 69, as the Israelites were; and we have fifty times more reason to murmur. They were carried from the wilderness, "into a land flowing with milk and honey;" we from such a land into the wilderness, that is, poverty and misery, and are like to be kept in the wilderness till this generation and the next too are consumed, by mortgages, anticipations, &c.

P. 71. Where the doctor says, "the country itself was much too narrow for them," he must certainly mean the Dutch, who never think their frontiers can be too much extended.

The doctor tells us, p. 72, "The justice and necessity of our cause is little short of the force of a command." Did God command to fight, because the chaplain-general will have no peace? He asks, "what is bidding us go on, if our successes are not?" At this rate, whenever any new success is gained, or a town taken, no peace must be made. The whole exhortation against peace, which follows, is very proper for the chaplain of an army; it looks like another Essay of the Management of the War. "These successes have generally been so much wanted, and so little expected." If we have been ten years at this vast expence, getting successes that we could not expect, we were mad to begin this war, which hath ruined us with all this success. But why this acclamation? is taking one small town such great success as points out to us the finger of God?

* 1 Sam. xii. 3.

Who is his God? I believe the general has no little share in his thoughts, as well as the present ministry, though upon a quite different consideration. "The clouds have never this war thickened more, or looked blacker, than this year: things looked so black on every side, as not to leave us the faintest glimpse of light. We apprehended nothing less than the dissolution of the alliance." Whatever the doctor may be for a preacher, he has proved but an indifferent prophet. The general and army may be obliged to him for the dissipation of these clouds, though the ministry are not. Were they the cause that such clouds gathered, "as made him fear an universal storm, which could no way be fenced against?" To hear him run on in praise of the wonders of this campaign, one would scarce believe he was speaking to those very persons who had formerly gained such memorable victories, and taken towns of so much greater importance than Bouchain. Had the French no lines before? I thought Mons, Lisle, &c. had been once esteemed considerable places. But this is his youngest child: he does like most mothers, when they are past the hopes of more; they doat upon the youngest, though not so healthy nor praiseworthy as the rest of the brethren. Is it our fault, that "three of the princes in alliance with us resolved to recall their troops?" p. 76. We brought our *quotas*, if our allies did not. By whose indulgence was it, that some of them have not been pressed more closely upon that head, or rather have been left to do as they please? It is no matter how hard a bargain people pretend to make, if they are not tied to the performance.

P. 75. "If the enemy are stronger than they were," how are we so near our great hopes, the

promised land? The affectation of eloquence, which carries the doctor away by a tide of words, makes him contradict himself, and betray his own argument. Yet, by all those expressions, p. 75, we can only find, that whatever success we have, must be miraculous; he says, "we must trust to miracles for our success," which, as I take it, is to tempt God: though, p. 77, he thinks, "the most fearful cannot doubt of God's continuance." We have had miraculous success this nine years by his own account; and this year, he owns, "we should have been all undone, without a new miracle; black clouds, &c. hanging over our heads." And why may not our sins provoke God to forsake us, and bring the black clouds again? greater sins than our inconstancy! avarice, ambition, disloyalty, corruption, pride, drunkenness, gaming, profaneness, blasphemy, ignorance, and all other immoralities and irreligion! These are certainly much greater sins; and, whether found in a court or in a camp, much likelier to provoke God's anger, than inconstancy.

Ibid. "If we have not patience to wait till he has finished, by gradual steps, this great work, in such a manner as he in his infinite wisdom shall think fit." I desire the doctor would explain himself upon the business of gradual steps, whether three and twenty years longer will do, or what time he thinks the general and himself may live; I suppose, he does not desire his gradual steps should exceed their date, as fond as he seems of miracles. I believe he is willing enough they should be confined to his grace's life and his own.

What does he mean, p. 78, by the natural and moral consequences that must lead us? If those moral consequences are consequences upon our morals, they are very small. "Whatever reason

there can be for putting an end to the war but a good one, was a stronger reason against beginning it." Right! so far we allow. "And yet those very reasons, that make us in so much haste to end it, show the necessity there was for entering into it." I am in mighty hope to get out of a squabble, and therefore I had reason to get into it; generally the contrary is true. "What condition should we have now been in, had we tamely let that prodigious power settle and confirm itself without dispute?" It could never settle and confirm itself but by a war.

P. 79. "Did we not go into the war in hopes of success? The greatest argument for going on with the war is, that we may have more success." According to the doctrine laid down by our author, we must never be inclined to peace till we lose a battle: every victory ought to be a motive to continue the war. Upon this principle, I suppose, a peace was refused after the battle of Ramillies.

Ibid. "How can we doubt that we shall not still succeed, or that an enemy that grows every day weaker and weaker, &c." The doctor's zeal overbears his memory: just now the enemy was stronger than ever.

P. 80. "If we consider that our strength is from God, &c." Though all men ought to trust in God; yet our Saviour tells us, we ought to regard human means: and in the point before us, we are told, "That a king going forth to war against another king, sitteth down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand; or else while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an embassy, and desireth

conditions of peace.”* Our Saviour was a preacher of peace; “Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you, &c.”† But the doctor chuses, rather to drive on furiously with Jehu. He answers to the question, “Is it peace?” as that king did to the horsemen, “What hast thou to do with peace? Get thee behind me.” He saith, “Our ingratitude and impenitence may defeat the surest prospects we have.” May we not ask him, whose ingratitude? As to impenitence, I think this paragraph is the only one wherein he vouchsafes, and that but very slightly, in his whole sermon, to remind the people of repentance and amendment; but leaves a subject “so little suited to a day of joy,” p. 81, to encourage them to “go on to obtain the end toward which they have made so many happy steps.” We differ about that end; some desire peace, others war, that so they may get money and power. It is the interest of some to be in action, others to be at rest: some people clap their finger upon one point, and say that alone can be a good peace; we say there be many sorts of good peace, of all which we esteem the queen and ministry to be the best judges. The doctor tells us, “Our sins may force us to put an ill end to the war.” He should explain what he calls an ill end; I am apt to think, he will think nothing good that puts an end to it, since he saith, “Vengeance may affect not only us, but generations yet unborn.” That they have taken care of already. We have pretty well mortgaged posterity, by the expenses of this devouring war: and must we never see an end to it, till there is not an enemy left to contend with,

* Luke xiv. 31, 32.

† John xiv. 27.

for so our author would intimate? In what a condition must we expect to be, long before that? It is very happy for the nation, that we do not lie at the mercy of this gentleman; that his voice is not necessary toward the great end we pant after, the unloading of our burden, and the mitigation of our taxes. A just and necessary war is an ostentatious theme, and may bear being declaimed on. Let us have war; what have we to do with peace? We have beaten our enemy; let us beat him again. God has given us success; he encourages us to go on. Have we not won battles and towns, passed the lines, and taken the great Bouchain; what avails our miseries at home; a little paltry wealth, the decay of trade, increase of taxes, dearness of necessaries, expense of blood, and lives of our countrymen? are there not foreigners to supply their places? have not the loss of so many brave soldiers been offered to the legislature as a reason for calling in such numbers of poor Palatines,* as it were to fill up the chasm of war, and atone for desolation among our subjects? If we continue thus prodigal of our blood and treasure, in a few years we shall have as little of the one as the other left: and our women, if they intend to multiply, must be reduced, like the Amazons, to go out of the land, or take them husbands at home of those wretched strangers whom our piety and charity relieved. Of the natives there will be scarce a remnant preserved; and thus the British name may be endangered once more to be lost in the German.

Were it not for fear of offending the worthy doctor, I should be tempted to compare his ser-

* See Vol. III. p. 133.

mon with one that some time since made so much noise in the world ;* but I am withheld by the consideration of its being so universally condemned, nay prosecuted, on one side. Perhaps the chaplain general will not like the parallel : there may be found the same heat, the same innuendoes, upon different subjects, though the occasion be not so pressing. What necessity was there of preaching up war to an army, who daily enrich themselves by the continuation of it ? Does he not think, loyalty and obedience would have been a properer subject ? To have exhorted them to a perseverance in their duty to the queen, to prepare and soften their minds, that they may receive with resignation, if not applause, whatever her majesty shall think fit to transact. The doctor, without suspicion of flattery, might very well have extolled their great actions, and congratulated with them upon the peace we are likely to enjoy ; by which they will be at leisure to reap the harvest of their blood and toil, take their rest at home, and be relieved from the burden and danger of a cruel war. And as our gratitude will be ever due to them for delivering us from our distant enemy the French, so shall we have reason to bless whoever are the authors of peace to these distressed nations, by which we may be freed from those nearer and much more formidable enemies, discontent and poverty at home.

* That of Sacheverell.

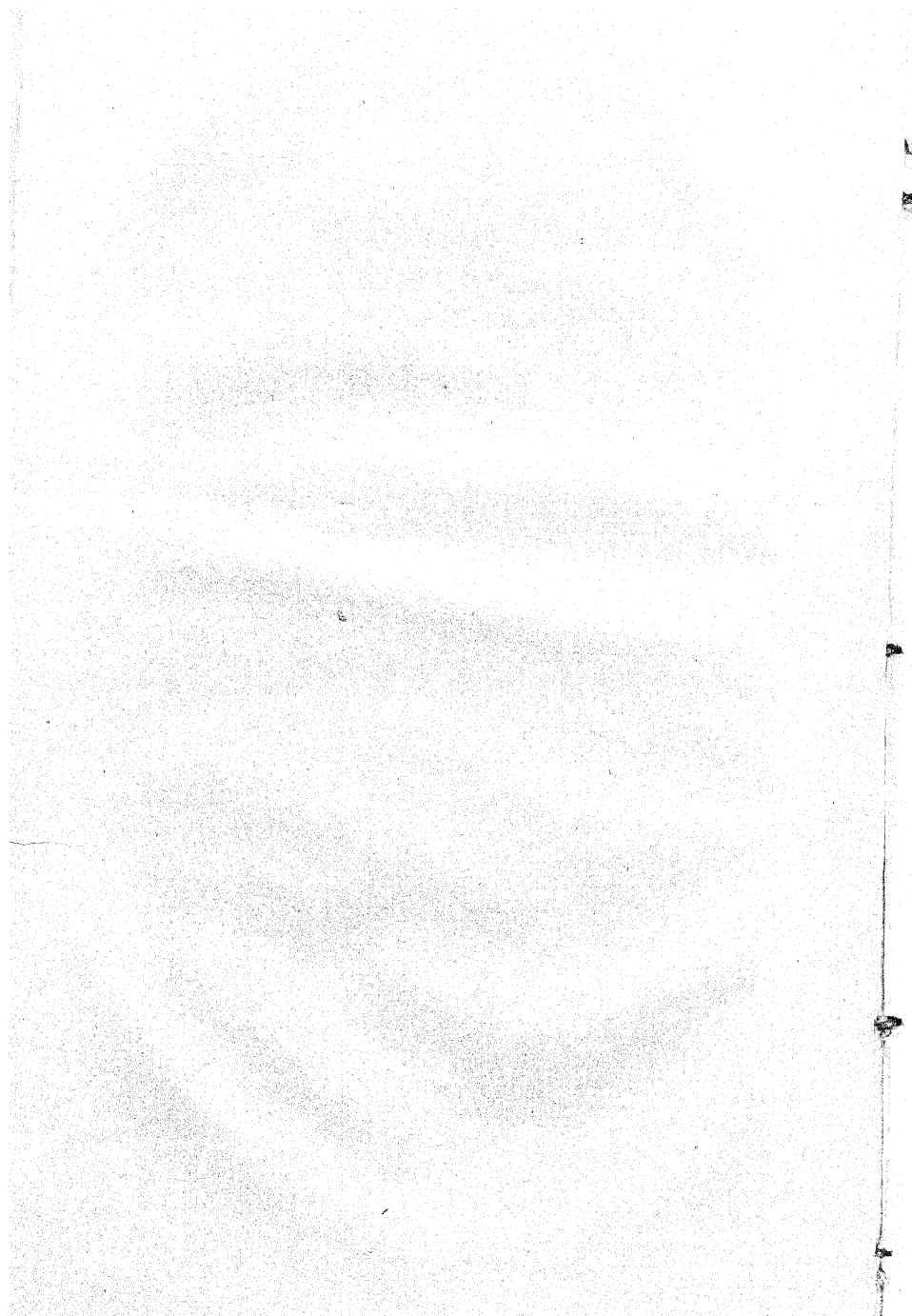
A NEW
VINDICATION
OF
THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH;
IN ANSWER TO
A PAMPHLET,
LATELY PUBLISHED,
CALLED
BOUCHAIN;
OR,

A Dialogue between the Medley and the Examiner.

FIRST PRINTED FOR JOHN MORPHEW, IN 1711.

A NEW VINDICATION, &c.

THIS is another of Mrs Manley's compositions under our author's direction.—“The Vindication of the Duke of Marlborough is *entirely* of the author of the Atalantis.”—*Journal to Stella*, 22d October. Swift repeats the same assertion on the 3d November. There is, therefore, every reason to believe, that our author had but a slight concern in this virulent attack upon the Duke of Marlborough.



THE
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH'S
VINDICATION

I WAS always satisfied of the stupidity and disingenuity of the author who called himself "The Medley;" but never till now so thoroughly convinced of his assurance. He (or one who personates him) appears, in a little book called "Bouchain," as if he were in close conference and great intimacy with the Examiner; where, according to the unfair manner of modern dialogue, he reserves all the wit and reasoning for himself, and makes the poor Examiner one of the silliest, dullest rogues, that ever pretended to speak or hear of politics: nay, he has even treated him worse than the real Medley did; who, though hired by the party to call him names by the week, had still so much modesty, not to take away his understanding, though he did his integrity. But here he is made just as stupid as was necessary to introduce all the fine things that are thought fit to be said of this campaign; and is directed to ask those questions, which none that reads and lives in any part of England can be supposed to be ignorant of, on purpose to heighten the glory of the general, and abuse the capacities of the present ministry. This method of his seems to be

copied from that great genius and champion of their cause, the *Observator*; and our Examiner acts the part of his countryman Roger, which, how agreeable to the spirit and sense of the Examiner, may be easily judged from his writings, which have met with a general approbation for their wit and learning.

But, leaving the falseness and improbability of the diction, I shall only consider the malice and design of this *boute-feu*, that would set the people on flame, and advance the general to a height where none had ever been hoisted before, only for the bare consequences that attend his being at the head of an army so often victorious, so well paid and encouraged, with no enemies in view but those whom it was familiar to them to overcome, and who, though superior in number, (as indeed they were) yet are wholly dispirited by continued losses, and at present restrained by the positive commands of their monarch; who has given it in charge to Monsieur Villars, not to venture the army but upon manifest advantages; so that nothing might be left to fortune, which had appeared so contrary to them of late, and seems to have so great a hand in the rise and fall of empires, and that period which is set to human glory.

This new Medley would bespeak our compassion for his hero, by telling of "the hard usage he has met with, and the sufficient reason he has had to be disgusted; his scandalous manner of treatment from the Examiner and his party: for," he says, "he is sensible the usage he gave him was not wholly from himself." And again, "That the Duke of Marlborough is divested of all interest and authority, both at home and in the army whom so much pains have been taken to mortify

that he might either in discontent throw up his command, or continue in it without honour; whom we laboured to make the mark of public hatred; as if it were impossible for liberty and gratitude to consist together, and men were to be ill used for no other reason but because they could not be used so well as they deserve." And farther, "Your friends may use the Duke of Marlborough as ill as they please: but let them be assured in the end, this will certainly turn upon themselves; and the time will come, when it will be as safe to speak truth of the present ministry, as it is now to belie the old! and then, my friend, you may hear farther from me." Who, after this, would not conclude the Duke of Marlborough had been turned out of all, his estate confiscated, and himself under the most rigid sentence? Nothing less should have provoked this audacious person to have taken such liberty of speech, and been guilty of such threatenings against the persons the queen is pleased to honour and trust. Yet, that we may examine things more coolly than this incendiary; what hardships has this great man to complain of? I believe we shall scarce find any precedent among the Romans, that their generals abroad ever thought themselves disobliged, upon the removal of a quæstor at home, or the changing one secretary for another; and yet this is the height of that discontent they so much complain against. The queen, who seems directed by heaven, as a reward for her piety, in the choice of her ministers and officers, did herself set the Duke of Marlborough at the head of her army: she knew his long experience in military affairs; that he had run through all the several degrees of service, and either had a genius for war, or nothing. Ne

man ever entered upon his command with greater encouragement: the love and smiles of his sovereign, the good wishes of the people, and if not the personal love of the soldiers, yet the hatred they had for the enemy, and their sufferings during the late peace, gave them a double edge to war, and made them gain such glorious victories, which all must own were got by the bravery of the English. Their personal valour proved of use, when neither genius in the general nor extraordinary conduct was required; though none will dispute his excelling in either: it has chanced that our greatest victories have been obtained more by the courage of the soldiers than the *finesse* of the commander; yet he has reaped all the advantage. Is he not the richest and greatest subject in Christendom? Has there not been a more than ordinary application, since the troops under his command first took the field, to supply them with every thing that was necessary? Whoever of her majesty's subjects were left unpaid, care was taken that money should not be wanting for the war in Flanders. Even upon the change of ministry, it was almost the first act of power in the new, to borrow money to send to the army under the Duke of Marlborough's command. He was so far from being "divested of all authority both at home and abroad," that there was not any change in what related to his grace's family, save the golden key: which, after long waiting, was thought necessary to be bestowed upon a person, who would not think herself grown too great for the indispensable attendance of the place. The queen, nay the new ministers, used his grace with the same goodness and confidence, in relation to his charge, as the former did. What occasion was there for discontent?

did he ask any favour, and was refused it? had not her majesty forgiven, nay forgot, that supreme mark of arrogance in the Duke of Marlborough, when he durst show himself disobliged at her giving away one regiment, without first obtaining his leave as general? * was there any remembrance, but in his own thoughts, of all that had been done by his party, to perpetuate his command? If he was really disgusted, because one of his sons-in-law, † and the father of another, ‡ were removed; how ungrateful and undutiful was that behaviour to the person that had so wonderfully raised him; to a sovereign, who had honoured him with such superlative marks of her favour! It is possible he might only seem discontented, to please his family, though, it has been shown, without reason; to which they interpreted his going to Blenheim just before the queen's birth-day, from whence he returned the day after; as if he purposely chose to omit paying his duty and respects upon so remarkable an occasion.

But what mortifications, what hardships, are these which our author complains of? Was his commission limited? had he not power to advance or retreat? was he forbidden to besiege or fight? was he commanded to take no steps but what were directed from above? wherein was he divested of his authority? when was this barbarous usage? was there any person hired to assassinate his fame, or take away his life? what conspiracy, what confederacy, to make criminals

* Referring to the dispute about the Earl of Essex's regiment.
See Vol. III. p. 329.

† The Earl of Sunderland.

‡ The Earl of Godolphin.

accuse him? did any of his enemies tamper with Monsieur de Guiscard, and offer him his life, pardon, and money, to lay his villany upon the duke? Had the persons here in power a mind that his designs this campaign should miscarry, how easy would it have been for them to have effectually disappointed them, and without being discovered! An artful hand can make more wonderful, though concealed, movements. But, instead of such usage, has he not been supplied with all possible vigour? was not a young general * sent off, that the Duke of Marlborough might have no occasion of discontent, nor appearance for complaint? were not his soldiers, flushed with many victories, eager and impatient to be led on to more? did he not very well know, as I have said before, that Monsieur Villars durst not fight him, though he had greater numbers than the duke, since the king had forbidden his venturing his army without evident advantages? are not the French dispirited and overawed by the superior genius of the English, by whom they have been so often vanquished? is it then such a wonder, after all the glorious victories the Duke of Marlborough has obtained, that, with the same fortune, the same cause, the same army, and against the same enemy, his grace has added one inferior fortress to his greater conquests? are the Senset and the Scheldt more formidable rivers than the Danube or the Rhine? are only passing the lines near Bouchain more wonderful than beating the French in their lines near Brabant? or have our former campaigns been so barren of great actions, that we need so much cry up the passing of two

* The Duke of Ormond.

rivers and one morass, where none durst oppose them; as if the general's glory were never consummate till now; or as if indeed he could have done less, except he had been resolved to do nothing, which could scarce have been, with an army so full of ardour to fight? These flights of joy, upon so small an occasion, seem to me just as reasonable as if some great conqueror should land in England, beat all her armies, and take London in one campaign; and yet reserve his triumphs and the people's acclamations for the next, only upon the taking of Islington.*

Whether this action, in respect to those the Duke of Marlborough had performed before, deserves to be valued at that height our author carries it, may be gathered from what Sir W. Temple says: "In May, 1676, the King of France sent the Duke of Orleans to besiege Bouchain, with some part of his troops, being a small though strong place, considerable for its situation to the defence of the Spanish Netherlands. The king, with the strength of his army, posted himself so advantageously, as to hinder the Prince of Orange from being able to relieve it, or to fight without disadvantage. The armies continued some days facing one another, and several times drawing out in order to battle, which neither of them thought fit to begin. Bouchain was surrendered the eighth day of the siege." Behold the same circumstance, attended with the same conquest, differing only in the number of days, in which

* Yet, with great deference to Mrs Manley's better opinion, most military men have thought that the skill displayed by Marlborough in the exploit of Bouchain, rendered it one of his most remarkable actions.

the disadvantage lies, by many, on his grace's side!

I can never believe the Duke of Marlborough will think himself obliged to the author of this paper, for representing him as "a mortified person, and one divested of all authority both at home and abroad:" no more than I do imagine that his grace can, in his own nature, be undutiful to that power that has raised him; however accidentally he might once be wanting in that respect he owed the queen, in the business of the regiment belonging the late Earl of Essex. Nor, when I remember how much he did formerly for conscience sake, and the interest of the church of England, can I persuade myself he will now engage against it. How seasonably did he decline King James's service, when the papists and dissenters were united in interests to destroy the church; King James, to whom the Duke of Marlborough was engaged by the highest gratitude! He had saved his life in the Gloucester frigate, and honoured his grace's family so far as to mingle his own royal blood with it. Did not the Duke of Marlborough forego the interests of his sister and her children, his nephews and nieces, that he was so fond of before, for the good of his country, and the security of the protestant religion? was he not contriving to deliver up the King to the Prince of Orange,* if the design had not been

* "The night before he left London, a conspiracy was formed by some of his chief officers to seize his person, and to deliver him into the hands of the Prince of Orange. The Earl of Rochester, the Lord Churchill, the Bishop of London [Dr Henry Compton], Sir George Hewitt, with several others, met at Mr Hatton Compton's lodgings, in St Alban's-street. After a long debate concerning the means of serving, to the best purpose, the Prince of Orange,

prevented? and did he not withdraw himself from his benefactor, to serve against him under his greatest enemy; protesting, in his letter to the king, "that his desertion from his majesty proceeded from no other cause, than the inviolable dictates of conscience, and a high and necessary concern for his religion, with which he was instructed that nothing could come in competition?"* Did the duke do all this for the church

it was at length resolved, that Rochester should attend the king to Salisbury, to betray his councils to the prince; that Churchill should endeavour to secure the person of James, which could best be done, when Maine was staff-officer on duty. Should Maine and the guards resist, no safety remained but in dispatching the king. Churchill, but perhaps very unjustly, is said to have undertaken this barbarous service. The design of seizing the king is ascertained from various quarters; but an intention to stab or pistol him, in case of resistance, is too shocking to merit credit, without the most positive, clear, and decisive proofs. The only evidence of the fact is the deathbed confession of Sir George Hewit; who, after having received emoluments and honours from William, repented, in his last moments, of his conduct toward his former master.—James, suspecting Churchill and the Duke of Grafton, once intended to have sent them, under a guard, to Portsmouth; but he judged that severity, instead of aiding, would hurt his affairs." *Macpherson.*

* "His desertion from King James might in some measure be excused, from its utility. But his design of placing that unfortunate prince a captive in the hands of his rival, is utterly inconsistent with the common feelings of mankind. With regard to HIM, he was a benefactor, a friend, and even a father. He raised HIM from obscurity to independence, to fortune, and to honour. He placed HIM in that only state, that could render his desertion destructive to his own affairs. If his misconduct had rendered James unworthy of the returns of gratitude due to other men, why was King William also deceived? If no measures were to be kept with either of these monarchs, why was England betrayed to her mortal enemy? Though these questions can scarcely be answered to satisfaction, they admit of alleviations. In the characters of mankind, some allowances must be made for their passions and frailties. The attention to interest, which passed

of England: and will our author, or any of the whiggish side, persuade us he can so far recede from his former principles, to take party against that very church he has helped to preserve? to join in opposition to her with her bitterest foes, when he is already as great and rich as a subject ought to be?

No! no! Such restless spirits as this writer, who, in the words of Mr Dryden, "fire that world which they were sent by preaching to warm," those "Phaëtons of mankind," abuse the reputation of the greatest persons, and do themselves honour at the expence of others, who, being equally ignorant of many things, yet pretend to determine of all the affairs of war and the cabinet; to enflame the people, abuse the ministry, and the queen through them; to trouble the waters, in hopes crowns and mitres may be found floating on the surface, and ready to fall to the share of the boldest hand.

We shall next consider the "scandalous manner of treatment" the Duke of Marlborough, as this writer tells us, "has met with from the Examiner, and his party;" for, he is sensible, the usage he gave him was "not wholly from himself." How can he be sensible of that? For to this day

through the whole conduct of Marlborough, might suggest to his prudence, to quit the fortunes of a man apparently destined for ruin. His spirit might induce him to oppose King William; as the cold reserve, neglect, and aversion of that prince, might offend his pride. In this state of mind, his lordship could hardly separate the interest of the kingdom from that of the king: and he informed the French court of the expedition against Brest (in 1694), more with a design of being revenged on William, than with a view to serve France at the expence of England."—*Macpherson*.

it does not appear who the Examiner is, nor that he had instructions to talk of Crassus, Catiline, or Anthony. That pen still remains concealed; neither rewards nor presents have been given to any, that we can suppose was author of those papers. Whoever he were, he has had the modesty not to reveal himself, though his remarks were only against those persons whom the queen had thought fit to dispense with from farther serving her; the general excepted, as this writer would have us believe: but he is the satirist, who makes the application. Cannot a person treat of the excessive avarice and sordid behaviour of Marcus Crassus, but, because the Duke of Marlborough is known to be an extreme good husband of his money, he must needs intend his grace as a parallel? * Indeed! Does this libeller think there is so near a resemblance between them? Why, where then is the injustice? To show that there has been any, let him convince us that his grace is become generous, or less in love with riches; and the comparison will cease. But till then, though he were the conqueror of Europe, instead of Flanders, the people will be apt to detest a vice they are sure to suffer by; regarding it as a counterpoise to the bravest actions, or, indeed, the only motive to the performance of them: and where interest is suspected to be the spur to glory, the reputation will always be less clear and shining. As to the comparison with Catiline, I find not the least ground for it: nor can it be so intended, though the old Medley, with

* See this parallel in the Examiner, No. XXVII. Vol. iii. p. 441.

his unfair quotation, has charged it upon the Examiner. The passage is in the fourth Examiner, to which I refer the reader, which can never, I hope, be applicable to England; for, how ambitious soever a general may prove, a brave, true English army, cannot create either fear or danger of their becoming a mercenary army. But the author farther tells us, the Examiner was "pleased to make the civil comparison of the Duke of Marlborough and his duchess, to Anthony and Fulvia." What is there said of Anthony is so little, that it is scarce worth any body's taking it to themselves. I am sorry an author cannot introduce a figure, though in poetry, of a haughty, proud, wrathful, and envious woman, but the application must be presently made to his hand: as if there were no vices in history, but what could be paralleled in life! In such a case, I must say, as I did just before, in that of Crassus, with this addition, that sure there must be some sort of resemblance, or one's very friends would never dare to make the ready comparison!

Behold here, the utmost of that charge this author has drawn up, of what has been done, by way of mortification, to the Duke of Marlborough. Alas; this is but one instance of the liberty of the press! whereas the present ministry may complain of a hundred: but their heads are too strong to be shaken by such impotent blasts, or disordered by every libeller's malice. What clouds of pointless arrows, though sent with a good will, have flown from the *Observer*, the *Review*, and *Medley*! How have great and mean geniuses united to asperse their conduct, and turn the management of the late persons in power upon these! Humourous, senseless bal-

lads; foolish parallels; the titles of Oxford and Mortimer,* have been an ample field. Who but must despise such wretched wits! I could quote several others, if it were not reviving them from their obscurity, or rather giving new life to those still-born, shapeless births, which but just appeared and perished. Nor do I remember any person to have so far gloried in those monstrous productions, as to own being a parent to them, but the renowned Dr Hare. The close of his fourth letter of the "Management of the War" is indeed very extraordinary; where he tells, "If they should describe the Duke of Marlborough to be a short, black, fattish, ill-shaped man, that loves to drink hard, never speaks to be understood, is extremely revengeful and ill-bred; if they should represent his mind to be a complication of all ill qualities," &c.† Here is more malice, though less wit and truth, than any thing they accuse in the Examiner. In times of liberty and faction, we must expect that the best persons will be libelled; the difference lies in the skill of the libeller. One draws near the life;

* In the "Pills to purge State Melancholy," 1716, there is a ballad called, "A Welcome to the Medal, to the tune of Mortimer's Hole." There are various allusions to the history and fall of that great favourite, in the songs made against Harley, whose family was descended from the Mortimers, and possessed Wigmore Castle, their ancient inheritance. As for example:

"Oxford alone shall not bear rule,
And act the part of Noll;
We'll bait and hunt the traitorous tool,
To Mortimer's great hole."

A choice new song, called Shee-land and Robinocracy.

See also "The Lives of Roger Mortimer and Robert Harley, 1711."

† The Duke of Ormond seems to be hinted at in this odious description.

another must write the name under, or else we cannot understand: for, as yet I never met one person, that could find out who Dr Hare designed, by his short, black, fattish, ill-shaped man; though he has so far exceeded the liberty the Examiner has taken, as to pretend to paint the very lineaments of the body, as well as those of the mind.

Thus far you see what little reason our author has to complain for the Duke of Marlborough's hard usage; but he grows bolder, and, in just despair of the continuation of a war from which he reaps so many advantages, attacks what (notwithstanding the many refinements of some late patriots) I take still to be an undoubted prerogative of the crown, the power of making peace and war. This author, treating the queen with as little consideration as his patrons used to do, does not so much as consult her majesty's wisdom and inclination; but supposes, "no British parliament will ever be chosen here, that will ratify an ill peace, or will not crush the bold man who shall propose it." This is like what he says, "That the time will come, when it will be as safe to speak truth of the present ministry, as it is to belie the old." What can one suppose from these threatenings? They are such as in wisdom should never be made, scarce with an army to back them: did I not know the loyalty of ours, I should fear, from our author's great intelligence, that they were in the secret, to frighten the ministry and parliament from taking into consideration the unanimous wishes and wants of our people, who have sustained so long a war, to the ruin of their trade, and a vast expence of their blood and treasure, upon such disinterested views as sure no people besides ever did. We very well know his reasons,

for providing peace should not be made without Spain ;* yet, when all those kingdoms and dependencies were united to the empire, the house of Austria was more terrible to Europe than the house of Bourbon has been since ; and a confederate war was then successfully carried on, as now, to fix the balance of power. Let us but consider what wonderful things this ministry has already done ; let us enter into their character and capacity, their true love of their country, and sincere endeavours for its welfare ; and then may our hearts be at rest ; and conclude, that whatever peace they shall think fit to advise, will be the best that they could obtain, for the safety of the church, the glory of their sovereign, and the ease and happiness of her whole people. Let them that would oppose it consider how many millions this one year's war hath cost us, when all the great actions performed by a great army, with a greater general at their head, hath been only gaining one single fortress ; an action so much gloried in, and so far magnified, that we are made to think it is of equal importance to the most fortunate campaigns ! Let us consider how long we shall be able to pay such a price for so small a conquest ! I speak only of our money ; having learnt by good example not to value the blood of those poor wretches that are yearly sacrificed in vast numbers, in trenches, and at the foot of walled towns. But say we were even at the gates of Paris, nay that Paris were ours, what allay would that be to our personal sufferings at home ? Let us look into our gazettes, for the number of bankrupts ; along the streets of

* The accusation against the Duke of Marlborough was, that he sought his own interest in prolonging the war.

our metropolis, and observe but the decay of trade, the several shops shut up, and more in daily apprehension of failing. Let us remove ourselves into the country, and see the penury of country gentlemen, with small estates and numerous families, that pay in such large proportions to the war; and there let us inquire how acceptable, nay how indispensable, peace is to their farther subsisting. True! there is still a great deal of money in England: but in whose hands? Those who have had the management of such prodigious sums as have been given these last three and twenty years, on pretence of carrying on the war. Inquire what sums the late lord treasurer* left the exchequer, and what immense debts in the navy and elsewhere: how the funds were all anticipated or loaded. Observe but what industry has been used, that the late party should part with none of their vast wealth to assist the present exigency; and then let us wonder at the wisdom and conduct of that ministry, which has been able to wade through all these difficulties, restore credit, and uphold the armies abroad: and can we doubt, after this, of their entering into the true interests of the nation, or dispute the peace they shall think fit to advise the queen to make? How can our malicious author say, "That it will be a severe mortification for so great and successful a general, to see the fruits of his victories thrown all away at once, by a shameful and scandalous peace; after a war of nine years, carried on with continued successes, greater than have been known in story? And how grievous must it be to him, to have no footstep remain, except the building at

* Lord Godolphin.

Woodstock, of all the great advantages which he has obtained for the queen and the British nation, against their dangerous enemy; and consequently of his own extraordinary merit to her majesty and his country?" No! are they about to take the garter from him? to unprince, unduke him? to confiscate all his large possessions, except Woodstock? those vast sums in the banks of Venice, Genoa, and Amsterdam?* his stately moveables, valuable paintings, costly jewels, and, in a word, those immense riches of which himself and his lady (as good an accomptant as she is) do not yet know the extent of? Are all these, I say, to be resumed, and nothing remaining but that edifice or *memento* of a subject's ambition, the stately walls of Blenheim, built while his gracious benefactress is contented to take up her residence in an old patched-up palace, during the burden of a heavy war, without once desiring to rebuild Whitehall, till, by the blessing of peace, her subjects shall be capacitated to undergo the necessary taxes? I am ashamed to enumerate those obligations the duke has to his queen and country, while he has such wretched and ungrateful advocates, who bellow his uneasiness, and exaggerate his mortifications. It is the misfortune of the times, that we cannot explain to our own people the occasion we have for a peace, without letting our enemies into our necessities, by which they may rise in their demands. Could there be a poll made, and voices collected from house to house, we should quickly see how unanimous our

* Report went that the duke had secured large sums in foreign funds. The extent might be exaggerated, but the circumstances of his disgrace justify his prudence in having taken such a precaution.

people are for a peace; those excepted, who either gain by the war, or, concealing their hoards, pay but small proportions toward it; an art well known and practised in this great city, where a person worth many thousands shall get himself rated at but one, two, or three hundred pounds stock; while the poor landed man is forced to pay to the extent, because his estate is known, and accordingly valued.

To conclude: I think, in the hands we are in, we need not dispute our safety; and if, as this author would insinuate, even a separate peace should be intended by some of our allies, after the example of our wise neighbours the Dutch at the treaty of Nimeguen, the generality of the people will be easily brought to agree that it is better than no peace at all. They know that our ministry are so well acquainted with the true interest of the nation, and are so tender of its welfare, that they will not consent to take one step in this affair, but what makes for the glory of the queen, and the happiness of her subjects.

A
TRUE RELATION
OF THE SEVERAL
FACTS AND CIRCUMSTANCES
OF THE INTENDED
RIOT AND TUMULT

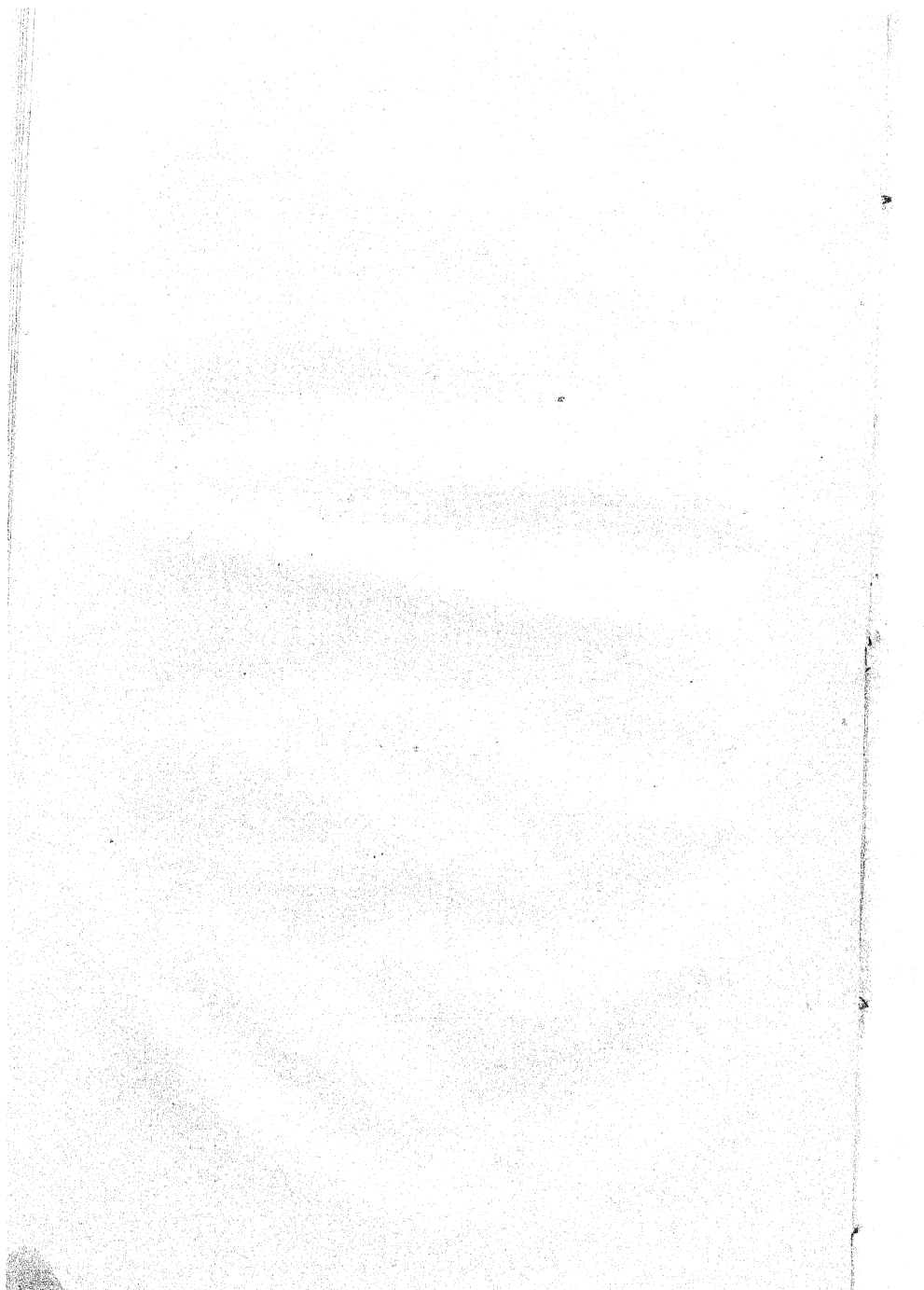
ON
QUEEN ELIZABETH'S BIRTH-DAY:

GATHERED FROM AUTHENTIC ACCOUNTS;

AND PUBLISHED

FOR THE INFORMATION OF ALL TRUE LOVERS OF OUR
CONSTITUTION IN CHURCH AND STATE.

FIRST PRINTED IN NOVEMBER, 1711.



TRUE RELATION, &c.

THE burning a Pope in effigy, upon the 17th November, the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's coronation, was a favourite pastime with the mob of London, and often employed by their superiors as a means of working upon their passions and prejudices. During the ferment occasioned by the pretended popish plot, in the reign of Charles II. this expedient was more than once resorted to. In 1682 the ceremony was celebrated with peculiar splendour, under the auspices of no less a person than the renowned Elkanah Settle. It exhibited a long procession of

————— Eremites and friars,
White, black, and grey, with all their trumpery,

who scattered among the crowd

————— Reliques, beads,
Indulgences, dispences, pardons, bulls,
The sport of winds. —————

The murdered body of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey was also carried in effigy, and last followed the Pope and the Devil, who were formally consigned to the flames, at Temple-Bar. A full account of this solemnity, with a wooden cut, representing the procession, may be seen in Dryden's Works, Edit. 1808, Vol. vi. p. 222.

The Whigs of Queen Anne's time, had, it seems, formed a resolution to revive the splendour of this grand ceremony. Several of the leaders, members of the Kit-Cat Club, are said to have subscribed a considerable sum for this purpose; and, as if challenging a comparison with the procession of 1682, the account of that solemnity was republished in the Protestant Post Boy, 20th November, 1711. But the design was interrupted, as mentioned in this pamphlet.

Swift's journal to Stella has the following passages, concerning this designed riot, and the pamphlet which contains an account of it:

"This is Queen Elizabeth's birth-day, usually kept in this town by prentices, &c. But the whigs designed a mighty procession by midnight; and had laid out a thousand pounds, to dress

up the pope, devil, cardinals, Sacheverell, &c. and carry them with torches about and burn them. They did it by contribution. Garth gave five guineas. But they were seized last night by order from the secretary."—*Journal to Stella*, Nov. 17, 1711.

"I am told the owners are so impudent that they intend to replevy them by law. I am assured that the figure of the devil is made as like lord treasurer as they could." *Ibid.* Nov. 19.

"I saw to-day the pope, the devil, and the other figures of cardinals, &c. fifteen in all, which have made such a noise. I have put an understrapper upon writing a twopenny pamphlet, to give an account of the whole design."—*Ibid.* Nov. 26.

It is probable that Swift had but little hand in the "True Relation," &c. for on the 30th he writes, "the fifteen images that I saw, were not worth forty pounds, so I stretched a little when I said a thousand. The Grub-street account of the tumult is published. The devil is not like lord treasurer. They were all in your odd antic masks, bought in common shops." The pamphlet contains doubtless very violent exaggerations of the Whigs.

A

TRUE RELATION, &c.

SIR,

London, Nov. 24, 1711.

I AM very sorry so troublesome a companion as the gout delays the pleasure I expected by your conversation in town. You desire to know the truth of what you call "a ridiculous story," inserted in "Dyer's Letter"* and "The Postboy,"† concerning the figures that were seized in Drury-lane, and seemed only designed for the diversion of the mob, to rouse their old antipathy to popery, and create new aversion in them to the pretender. If, indeed, this had been their only intent, your reflections would be reasonable, and your compassion pardonable. It is an odd sort of good nature, to grieve at the rabble's being disappointed of their sport, or, as you please to term it, "of what would for the time being have certainly made them very happy." But, sir, you will not fail to change your opinion, when I shall

* A newspaper much read by the Tories, especially by the country gentlemen.

† By Abel Boyer.

tell you, that there was never a blacker design formed, unless it were blowing up the parliament house. No mortal can foresee what might have been the ill effects, if it had once come to execution. We are well assured, that, under pretence of custom and zeal, and what they call an innocent diversion, lurked a dangerous conspiracy: for whoever goes about to disturb the public peace and tranquillity, must needs be enemies to the queen and her government.

You have been informed of the surprising generosity and fit of housekeeping the German princess* has been guilty of this summer, at her country seat, in direct contradiction to her former thrifty management; yet, to do her justice, she is not so parsimonious as her lord, nor sets half that value upon a guinea: though her dexterity in getting be as great as his, he outdoes her in preserving. She has had a wonderful address in some things! witness the known story of the diamond,† which is as great an instance of good management on her side, as my lord's making one suit of clothes serve three sets of buttons can be of his frugality. She seems to have forgotten, or rather outlived, all the softer passions, those beautiful blemishes for which they are often pitied by our sex, but never really hated. Wrath, ill nature, spleen, and revenge, are those with whom her ladyship has been in league for many months: she has even fallen into the common weakness of unfortunate women, who

* The Duchess of Marlborough. The duke had been invested with the principality of Mindleheim by the emperor.

† In the "Apparition of Mother Haggy," mention is made of a diamond cross given to the duchess by a great man. But the grounds of the reflection are now forgotten.

have recourse to silly fellows called conjurors; or perhaps in imitation of her mother, her ladyship wanted a very witch;* she would give any thing to converse with a real witch: at last she took up with a wizard, an ignorant creature, who pretends to deal with the stars, and, by corresponding with thief-catchers, helps people to their goods, when they have been stolen. To please her highness, he revived an old cheat, of making an image like the person she most hated; upon which image he would so far work by enchantment, that him it represented, from that moment should grow distempered, and languish out his short life in diverse sort of pains. Since the wizard was taken into the lady's pay, a certain great man has happened to be indisposed; by which means she remains very well satisfied with the experiment, and imagines this accident to be owing to the force of her enchantment, from which she promises herself still greater events. Though we laugh at the folly, we cannot but remark the malice of the attempt.

On Friday the 16th of November, the heads of the party met at the new palace,† where the late viceroy‡ recounted to them the happy disposition of affairs; and concluded, "That, notwithstanding all their misfortunes, they had still to-morrow for it." This person, who had so often boasted himself upon his talent for mischief, invention, lying, and for making a certain *lillibulero* song,||

* Mrs Jenyns, mother of the duchess, is often charged with witchcraft in the lampoons of the time. See the "Apparition of Mother Haggy" in this volume.

† See Vol. II. p. 409.

‡ Thomas, Earl of Wharton.

|| The famous song of *Lililulero* was written by Lord Wharton,

with which, if you will believe himself, he sung a deluded prince out of three kingdoms, was resolved to try if, by the cry of "No peace, high church, popery, and the pretender," he could halloo another in. There were several figures dressed up; fifteen of them were found in an empty house in Drury-lane; the pope, the pretender, and the devil, seated under a state, whereof the canopy was scarlet stuff trimmed with deep silver fringe; the pope was as fine as a pope need to be, the devil as terrible, the pretender habited in scarlet laced with silver, a full fair long periwig, and a hat and feather. They had all white gloves, not excepting the very devils; which whether quite so proper, I leave to the learned. This machine was designed to be born upon men's shoulders; the long trains dependant from the figures were to conceal those that carried them. Six devils were to appear as drawing the chariot, to be followed by four cardinals, in fine proper habits; four jesuits and four franciscan friars, each with a pair of white gloves on, a pair of beads, and a flaming, or, if you please, a bloody faulchion in their hands. Pray judge, if such a parade should at any time appear, without the proper disposition of lights, &c. as was here intended; do you not believe it would be a suffi-

at the time of the Revolution war. Burnet thus describes its influence. "A foolish ballad was made at that time treating the Papists, and chiefly the Irish, in a very ridiculous manner, which had a burden said to be Irish words, "*lero lero liliburlero*," that made an impression on the army that cannot be imagined by those that saw it not. The whole army, and at last the people both in city and country, were singing it perpetually; and perhaps never so slight a thing had so great an effect."—*Memoirs of his Own Time.*

cient call to the multitude; and that they would never forsake it till their curiosity had been satisfied to the full? Any man in his senses may find this was a deliberate as well as a great expense. To prepare men's minds for sedition, one Stoughton's sermon* (which was burnt by the common hangman in Ireland, by order of the house of lords) preached at St Patrick's in Dublin, and printed there, was that very week reprinted here, and handed about with extreme diligence: and, to fill the people with false fear and terror, they had some days before reported that the queen was dangerously ill of the gout in her stomach and bowels. The very day of the designed procession, it was whispered upon the Exchange, and all over the city, that she was dead. A gentlewoman that makes wax-work declares, "that, some time before, certain persons of quality, as she judged, who called one another sir Harry, sir John, sir James, &c. came to her house, and bespoke several wax-work figures, one for a lady; they agreed to her price, paid half in hand, and the rest when they fetched them away." These figures are not yet taken. One was designed to represent the lord treasurer, the lady Mrs Masham, and the rest the other great officers of the court, with Dr Sacheverell; which the workwoman was ordered to make as like his picture as possibly she could. A certain lady, re-

* This sermon was preached at Christ Church, Dublin, Jan. 30, 1705-6; and was burnt by the common hangman, Nov. 9, 1711. "A bold opinion," says Swift on that occasion, "is a short, easy way to merit, and very necessary for those who have no other."

nowned for beauty,* at the princess's palace, desired that she might have the dressing up of the young, handsome statesman,† whose bright parts are so terrible to the enemies of his country; in order to it, she proposed borrowing from the playhouse Æsop's large white horsehair periwig. Her lord‡ furnished out the rest of the materials from the queen's wardrobe. No wonder he should be an enemy to peace, when his father gains so much by the continuance of the war; nor that a certain young duchess was so eager to have him go in disguise with the viceroy, when his absence was convenient!

Farther to convince you that this was a premeditated design, and carried on in all its forms, proper persons had been busy beforehand, to secure a thousand mob, to carry lights at this goodly procession.§ One of these agents came to a victuallinghouse in Clare-market; he called for drink, and the master of the house, of whom he inquired, "if he could procure him forty stout fellows to carry flambeaux on Saturday the 17th instant, to meet there at one o'clock? They should have a crown apiece in hand; and whatever they drank till five, he would be there to see discharged." At such a proposal, mine host pricked up his ears; and told his honour, "His honour need not fear but that he might have as many as his honour pleased, at that price." Accordingly he fetched in several from the market, butchers,

* Lady Mary Churchill, Duchess of Montague, youngest daughter of John, Duke of Marlborough.

† Mr Secretary St John.

‡ John, the second Duke of Montague. He was at this time master of the great wardrobe.

§ The procession in 1682 was illuminated by 150 flambeaux.

tripemen, poulterers prentices, who joyfully listed themselves against the day, because it was to be a holiday, and they should not stand in need of their masters leave; "for, on queen Bess's day," they said, "they always went out of course." The landlord promised to make up the complement by the appointed time, with honest lads, who would be glad to get their bellies full of drink, and a crown apiece, in an honest way. All was agreed upon; the gentleman paid the reckoning, which came to a considerable sum in beer and brandy for his mob, and departed, with assurance of being there at one o'clock to meet his myrmidons; but, the matter being discovered, he has not been heard of since, to the great disappointment of the good man and the people he had engaged. The like was done in several parts of the town. They had secured to the number, as I told you, of one thousand persons, who were so hired to carry lights, though they know not to what end, doubtless for a burial, among whom were many of the very foot guards. Drinking from one to five, it is plain they were to be made drunk, the better to qualify them for what mischief was designed by their proper leaders. The viceroy,* with some others of as good and two or three of better rank than himself, were resolved to act in disguise; the viceroy like a seaman, in which he hoped to outdo Massaniello of Naples, whose fame he very much envies for the mighty mischief he occasioned. His busy head was the first inventor of the design; and he would take it very ill if he were robbed of the glory. He had lately

* Lord Wharton.

proved the power of an accidental mob,* and therefore hoped much better from a premeditated one: he did not doubt inflaming them to his wish by the noise of popery and the pretender, by which they would be put into a humour to burn even Dr Sacheverell and the other effigies. At their several bonfires, where the parade was to make a stand, the preliminary articles were to be thrown in, with a cry of "No peace;" and proper messengers were to come galloping, as if like to break their necks, their horses all in a foam, who should cry out, "The queen, the queen, was dead at Hampton court." At the same time the Duke of Marlborough was to make his entry through Aldgate, where he was to be met with the cry of "Victory, Bouchain, the lines, no peace, no peace." If matters had once come to this pass, I do not see what could have hindered the leaders from doing all the mischief they desired, from exalting and pulling down whom they pleased, nor from executing, during the rage of the people, prepossessed, as they would be, with the news of the queen's death, whatever violence, injustice, and cruelty, they should think fit. They had resolved before what houses should be burnt. They were to begin with one in Essex-street, where the commissioners of accompts meet, from whence a late discovery has been made of vast sums annually received by a great man,† for his permission to serve the army with bread. They said, "Harley should have better luck than they

* The riots in the cause of Dr Sacheverell, which the author wishes to be considered as unpremeditated.

† Duke of Marlborough.

expected, if he escaped de Witting;* they would set people to watch him all that day, that they might know where to find him when they had occasion." And truly who can answer for the consequence of such a tumult, the rage of a mad drunken populace, fomented by such incendiaries (for the whole party, to a man, were engaged to be there)? I do not see how the city could have escaped destruction. There were many to kindle fires, none to put them out. The Spectator,† who ought to be but a looker on, was to have been an assistant, that, seeing London in a flame, he might have opportunity to paint after the life, and remark the behaviour of the people in the ruin of their country, so to have made a diverting Spectator. But I cannot but look up to God Almighty with praise for our deliverance, and really think we have very much need of a thanksgiving; for, in all probability, the mischief had been universal and irremediable. I tremble to think what lengths they would have gone: I dare not so much as imagine it. They had taken Massaniello's insurrection for a precedent, by which all who were not directly of their own party had suffered, as may be gathered from what we know of their nature, and by what is already discovered, though there is doubtless a great deal more behind. As soon as the figures were seized, they dispatched away a messenger express to the place where it was known the duke intended to land, to tell him he might now take his own time; there was no occasion "for his being on the 17th instant, by

* The well-known catastrophe of the Pensioner De Witt and his brother, massacred by the Dutch mob.

† Steele.

seven at night, at Aldgate;" and so he lay that night five miles short of the town.

However the viceroy may value himself upon this design, he seems but to have copied my lord Shaftesbury in 1679, on the same anniversary. It is well known, by the favour of the mob, they hoped then to have made the Duke of Monmouth king, who was planted at Sir Thomas Fowls's at Temple Bar, to wait the event; while the rest of the great men of his party were over the way at Henry the Eighth's tavern. King Charles had been persuaded to come to Sir Francis Child's to see the procession; but, before it began, he had private notice given him to retire, for fear of what mischief the mob might be wrought up to. He did so; which ruined the design they had, to seize on his person, and proclaim the duke king.*

* Some advised Charles II. to call out his guards, but he replied he did not like *horse-play*. They were kept, however, drawn up in readiness. North gives the following lively account of the ceremony

"When we had posted ourselves at windows, expecting the play to begin, it was very dark, but we could perceive the street to fill, and the hum of the crowd grew louder and louder; and, at length, with help of some lights below, we could discern, not only upwards towards the Bar, where the squib war was maintained, but downwards towards Fleet-Bridge, the whole street was crowded with people, which made that which followed seem very strange; for, about eight at night, we heard a din from below, which came up the street, continually increasing, till we could perceive a motion; and that was a row of stout fellows, that came, shouldered together, cross the street, from wall to wall, on each side. How the people melted away I cannot tell; but it was plain these fellows made clear board, as if they had swept the street for what was to come after. They went along like a wave; and it was wonderful to see how the crowd made way: I suppose the good people were willing to give obedience to lawful authority. Behind this wave (which, as all the rest, had many lights attending)

This was the scheme our modern politicians went upon. One of them was heard to say, "They must have more diversions than one, *i. e.* burning, for the good people of London; since the mob loved to create,* as well as to destroy."

there was a vacancy, but it filled apace, till another like wave came up; and so four or five of these waves passed, one after another; and then we discerned more numerous lights, and throats were opened with hoarse and tremendous noise; and, with that, advanced a pageant, borne along above the heads of the crowd, and upon it sat an huge Pope, in *pontificalibus*, in his chair, with a reasonable attendance for state; but his premier minister, that shared most of his ear, was, Il Signior Diavolo, a nimble little fellow, in a proper dress, that had a strange dexterity in climbing and winding about the chair, from one of the pope's ears to the other.

"The next pageant was of a parcel of Jesuits; and after that (for there was always a decent space between them) came another, with some ordinary persons with halters, as I took it, about their necks; and one with a stenterophonic tube, sounded—Abhorers! Abhorers! most infernally; and, lastly, came one, with a single person upon it, which, some said, was the pamphleteer Sir Roger L'Estrange, some the King of France, some the Duke of York; but, certainly, it was a very complaisant civil gentleman, like the former, that was doing what every body pleased to have him, and, taking all in good part, went on his way to the fire; and however some, to gratify their fancy, might debase his character, yet certainly he was a person of high quality, because he came in the place of state, which is last of all. When these were passed, our coast began to clear, but it thickened upwards, and the noise increased; for, as we were afterwards informed, these stately figures were planted in a demilune about an huge fire, that shined upon them; and the balconies of the club were ready to crack with their factious load, till the good people were satiated with the fine show; and then the hieroglyphic monsters were brought condignly to a new light of their own making, being, one after another, added to increase the flames: all which was performed with fitting salvos of the rabble, echoed from the club, which made a proper music to so pompous a sacrifice." NORTH'S *Examen*.

* Make a king.—MANLEY.

By this time, I do not doubt, sir, but you are thoroughly convinced of the innocence of this intended procession; which they publicly avow, and tell the ministry they are welcome to make what they can of it, knowing themselves safe by having only intended, not acted the mischief; if it had once come to that, they would have been so far above the fear of punishment for their own crimes, as to become executioners of the innocent.

Truly, I think, the malice of that party is immortal, since not to be satiated with twenty-three years plunder, the blood of so many wretches, nor the immense debt with which they have burdened us. Through the unexampled goodness of the queen, and the lenity of the other parts of the legislature, they are suffered to sit down unmolested, to bask and revel in that wealth they have so unjustly acquired: yet they pursue their principles with unwearied industry, club their wit, money, politics, toward restoring their party to that power from whence they are fallen; which, since they find so difficult, they take care, by all methods, to disturb and vilify those who are in possession of it. Peace is such a bitter pill, they know not how to swallow: to poison the people against it, they try every nail, and have at last hit of one they think will go, and that they drive to the head. They cry, "No peace," till the trade of our own nation be entirely given up to our neighbours. Thus they would carry on the public good of Europe, at the expense of our private destruction. They cry, "Our trade will be ruined if the Spanish West Indies remain to a son of France;" though the death of his father may cause Philip to forget his birth and country,

which he left so young. After the decease of his grandfather, he will be only the brother of a haughty rough-natured king, who in all probability may give him many occasions to become every day more and more a Spaniard.

They do not allow the dauphin's or the emperor's death have made an alteration in affairs, and confide all things to the supine temper of the Austrian princes; from whence they conclude there can be no danger in trusting half Europe to the easy unactive hands of such an emperor. But may not another Charles the Fifth arise? another Philip the Second? who, though not possessed of the Austrian territories, gave more trouble and terror to England, than ever she felt from France; insomuch as, had not the seas and winds fought our battles, their invincible Armada had certainly brought upon us slavery and a popish queen! Neither is it a new thing for princes to improve, as well as degenerate. Power generally brings a change of temper. Philip de Comines tells us, "That the great duke of Burgundy, in his youth, hated the thoughts of war, and the fatigue of the field. After he had fought and gained one battle, he loved nothing else; and could never be easy in peace, but led all his life in war, and at length died in it; for want of other enemies, fighting against the poor barren Swissers, who were possessed of nothing worth contending for."

But it is not reason, or even facts, that can subdue this stubborn party. They bear down all by noise and misrepresentation. They are, but will not seem, convinced; and make it their business to prevent others from being so. If they can but rail and raise a clamour, they hope to be believed, though the miserable effects of their mal-

administration are ten thousand to one against them: a festering obvious sore, which when it can be healed we know not, though the most famous artists apply their constant skill to endeavour at a cure. Their aversion to any government but their own is unalterable; like some rivers, that are said to pass through without mingling with the sea; though disappearing for a time, they arise the same, and never change their nature.

I am, sir, &c.

The Whigs published the following account of their intended procession, transcribed by Mr Nichols from a folio half sheet, published in 1711.

“An account of the mock procession of burning the pope and the chevalier de St George, intended to be performed on the 17th instant, being the anniversary of queen Elizabeth of pious and glorious memory.

The owners of the pope, the chevalier de St George, fourteen cardinals, and as many devils, which were taken out of a house in Drury-lane, at midnight, between the 16th and 17th instant, and exposed to view at the Cockpit for nothing (on the latter of those days,) think fit to acquaint the world, that their intention in making them was, with those and other images (in case their goods had not been forcibly taken away,) to have formed the following procession.

Twenty watchmen, to clear the way, with link-boys lighting them on each side.

Twenty-four bagpipes marching four and four, and playing the memorable tune of Lillibullero.

Ten watchmen marching two and two, to prevent disorder.

Four drums in mourning, with the pope's arms in their caps.

A figure representing cardinal Gualteri, lately made by the pretender protector of the English nation, looking down on the ground in a sorrowful posture; his train supported by two missionaries from Rome, supposed to be now in England.

Two pages, throwing beads, bulls, pardons, and indulgences.

Two jack puddings sprinkling holy water.

Twelve hautboys playing the tune of the Greenwood Tree.

Two lackeys on each side of them, bearing streamers, with these words, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutare*, being the device on the colours of the right reverend the bishop of London's troops when he marched into Oxford in the year 1688.

Six beadles with protestant flails in their hands.

These followed by four persons bearing streamers, each with the pictures of the seven bishops who were sent to the Tower.

Twelve monks, representing the fellows who were put into Magdalen college in Oxford, on the expulsion of the protestants.

Twelve streamer-bearers, with different devices, representing sandals, ropes, beads, bald pates, and bigbellied nuns.

A lawyer, representing the clerk of the high commission court.

Twelve heralds marching one after another, at a great distance, with pamphlets, setting forth

king James II's power of dispensing with the test and penal laws.

On each side of the heralds, fifty links.

After these, four fat friars in their habits, streamers carried over their heads, with these words, "Eat and pray."

Four jesuits in English habits, with flower-de-luces on their shoulders, inscribed, "Indefeasible;" and masks on their faces, on which is writ, "The house of Hanover."

Four jesuits in their proper habits.

Four cardinals of Rome in their red hats curiously wrought.

The pope under a magnificent canopy, with a right silver fringe, accompanied by the chevalier St George on the left, and his counsellor the devil on his right.

The whole procession closed by twenty streamers, on each of which was wrought these words,

God bless queen Anne, the nation's great defender!
Keep out the French, the pope, and the pretender.

In this order it was intended, with proper reliefs of lights at several stations in the march, to go through Drury-lane, Long-acre, Gerrard-street, Piccadilly, Germain-street, St James's-square, Pell-mell, Strand, Catherine-street, Russel-street, Drury-lane, Great Queen-street, Little Queen-street, Holbourn, Newgate-street, Cornhill, Bishopsgate-street, where they were to wheel about, and return thorough to St Paul's churchyard to Fleet-street. And at the Temple, before the statue of that illustrious lady whose anniversary was then celebrated, that queen wearing a veil, on which are drawn the picture of her present majesty, and under it the battles of Blenheim,

Ramillies, Oudenarde, and the passes of the lines in this present year 1711, after proper ditties were sung, the pretender was to have been committed to the flames, being first absolved by the cardinal Gualteri. After that, the said cardinal was to be absolved by the pope, and burnt. And then the devil was to jump into the flames with his holiness in his arms.

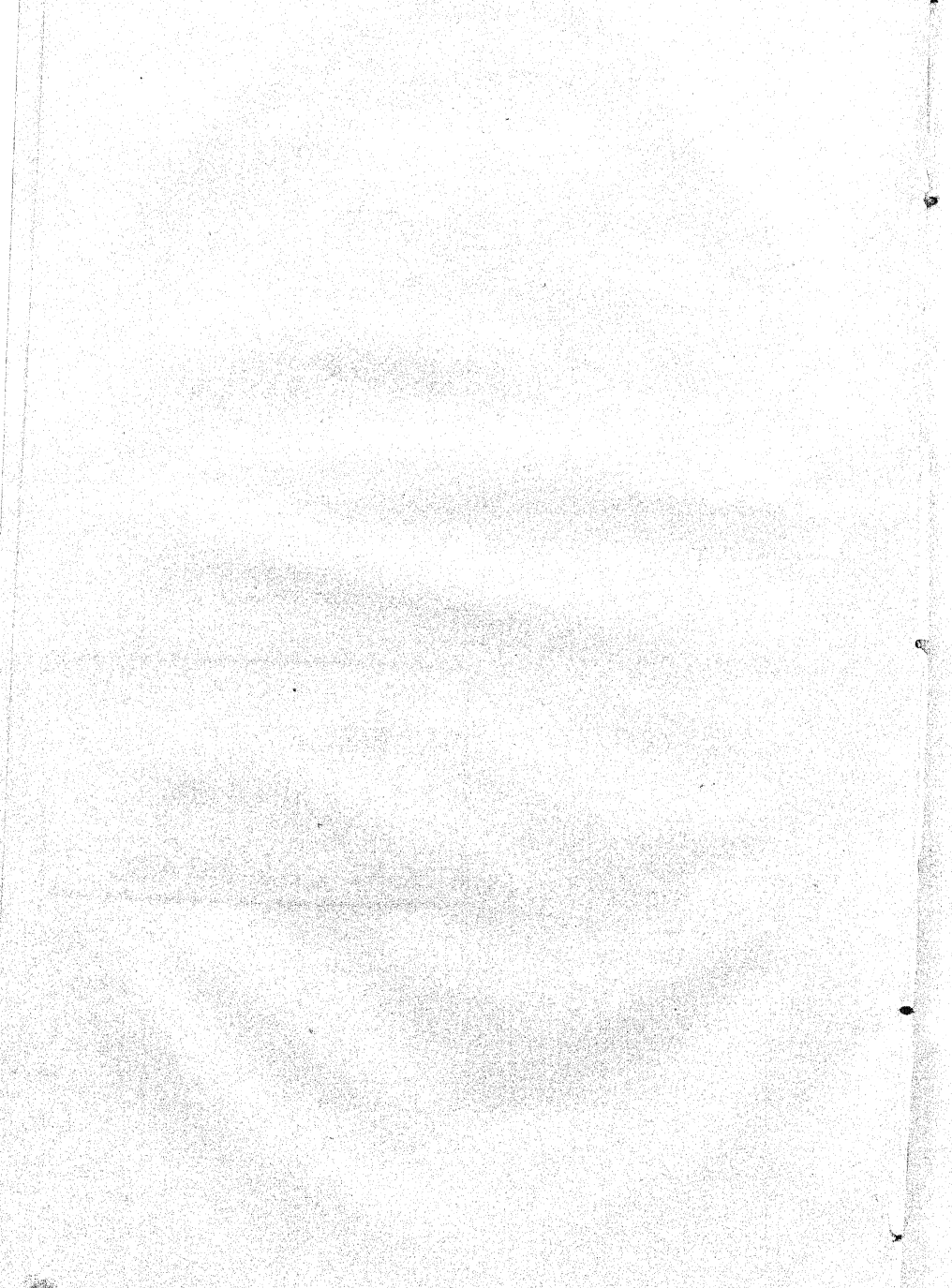
And let all the people say—*Amen.*”

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ALLAN TOWN



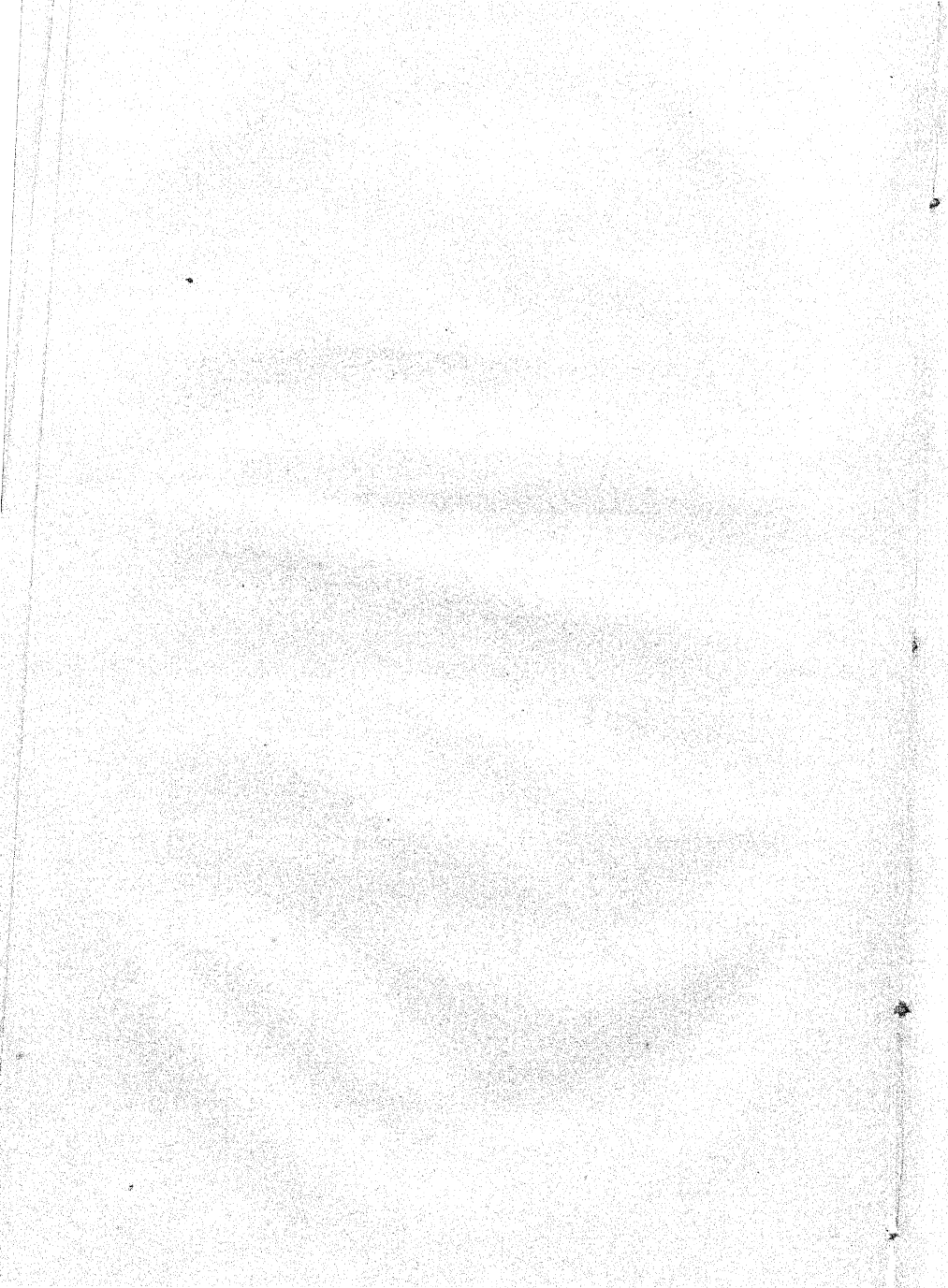
THE
NEW WAY
OF SELLING
PLACES AT COURT:

IN A LETTER FROM A SMALL COURTIER TO A GREAT
STOCKJOBBER.

“——*Omnia Romæ*
Cum pretio——”

JUVENAL, iii. 183.

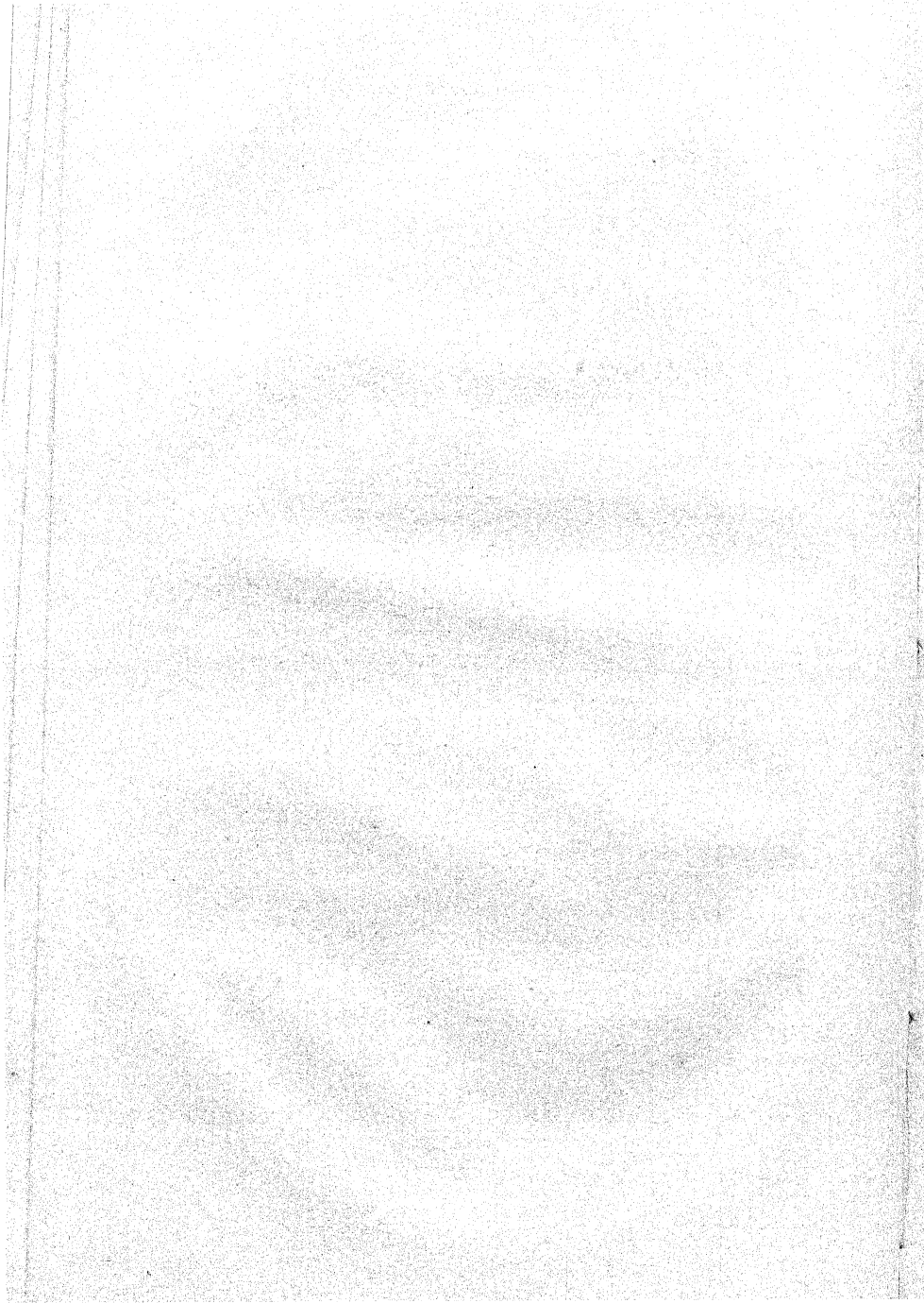
FIRST PRINTED IN 1712.



THE NEW WAY, &c.

“ DID I tell you of a scoundrel about the court, that sells employments to ignorant people, and cheats them of their money? He lately made a bargain for the vicechamberlain’s place, for seven thousand pounds, and had received some guineas earnest; but the whole thing was discovered the other day, and examination taken of it by Lord Dartmouth, and I hope he will be swung. The vicechamberlain told me several particulars of it last night, at Lord Masham’s.”—*Journal to Stella*, March 24, 1711-12.

The pamphlet has perhaps no very good title to be retained in Swift’s works.



THE NEW WAY

OF

SELLING PLACES AT COURT.

IN that friendly dispute which happened between us some time ago, wherein you endeavoured to prove, that the city politics outdid those of the court; I remember, there was nothing upon which you seemed to pride yourself more, than that mystery of your brethren in Exchange ally, which is usually called "selling the bear's skin;" whereby a very beneficial trade is daily driven with imaginary stocks, and many thousands bought and sold, to great advantage, by those who were not worth a groat. This you challenged me to match, with all my knowledge in the lower arts of the court. I confess, you had then the better of the argument; and I was forced to yield, which I would hardly do at present, if the controversy were to be resumed: I could now make you acknowledge, that what you in the city call "selling the bear's skin," does not deserve the name, when compared with the dexterity of one of our artists. I shall leave the decision of this matter

to yourself, after you have received the following story, which I shall most faithfully relate.

There is a certain petty retainer to the court, who has no employment at all himself, but is a partner for life to one that has. This gentleman resides constantly with his family among us; where, being wholly at leisure, he is consequently very speculative, perpetually turning his thoughts to improve those happy talents that nature has given him. He has maturely considered with himself the strange opinions that people at distance have of courts. Strangers are apt to think, that whoever has an apartment in the royal palace, can go through the lodgings as if he were at home, and talk familiarly with every one he meets, must needs have at any time a dozen or two of employments in his power; the least word from him to a great man, or, upon extraordinary occasions, to the queen herself, would certainly do the business! This ignorance has often been made very good use of by dexterous men among us. Old courtiers will tell you twenty stories of Harry Killigrew, Fleetwood Sheppard,* and others, who would often sell places that were never in being, and dispose of others a good pennyworth before they were vacant; how the Privy Garden, at Whitehall, was actually sold, and an artist sent to measure it; how one man was made curtain-lifter to the king, and another his majesty's goldfinder: so that our predecessors must be allowed their due honour. Neither do I at all pretend, that the hero I am now celebrating was the first inventor of that art; wherein it must,

* Well known as men of pleasure and humour, in the witty court of Charles II.

however, be granted, that he hath made most wonderful improvements.

This gentleman, whom I take leave to call by the name of Guzman, in imitation of a famous Spanish deceiver of that name, having been formerly turned out of one or two employments for no other crime than that of endeavouring to raise their value, has ever since employed his credit and power for the service of others; and, where he could not secure them in reality, has been content to feed their imaginations, which to a great part of mankind is full as well. It is true, he hath done all this with a prudent regard to his own interest; yet whoever has trafficked with him cannot but own, that he sells at reasonable rates; and is so modest withal, that he is content the credit of taking your money should rest on the greatest men in England, rather than himself. He begged a small employment for one of his customers, from a lord of the admiralty, then told his client, "that the great man must have a hundred guineas presented him in a handsome manner." Our placejobber brought an old lame horse of his own, and said, "the admiral asked a hundred guineas for it:" the other bought the horse, without offering to cheapen him, or look in his mouth.

Two or three such achievements as these gave our adventurer the courage for some time past to deal by the great, and to take all employments at court into his own hands. And though he and his family are firm adherents to the honest party, and furious against the present ministry (as I speak it to our honour, no small number of us are): yet in the disposal of places he was very impartial, and gave every one their choice. He

had a standing agent, to whom all people applied themselves that wanted any employment, who had them ready of all sizes, to fit whatever customer came, from twenty to a thousand pounds a year.

If the question be asked, why he takes no employment himself? He readily answers, That he might, whenever he pleased, be in the commission of the customs, the excise, or of trade: but does not think it worth his while; because, without stirring from court, or giving himself any trouble he can, by his credit, oblige honest gentlemen with employments, and at the same time make better advantage to himself. He hath several ways to establish a reputation of his interest at court. Sometimes, as I have already observed, he hath actually begged small offices, and disposed of them to his clients. Besides, by living in her majesty's palace, and being industrious at picking out secrets, he often finds where preferment is likely to go even before those who are to be preferred can have any notice of it themselves; then he immediately searches out for them, tells them of their merits, asks them how they would like of such an employment; and promises, by his power at court, to get it for them: but withal gives them a hint, that great men will take money; though they will not be known to do it: that it therefore must be done by a second hand, for which he proffers his service, tells them what sum will be convenient, and then sinks it in his own pocket; beside what is given to him in gratitude for his solicitations and good will: this gives him credit to pursue his trade of placejobbing. Whoever hath a mind for an employment at court, or any where else, goes to Guzman's

agent; and he reads over to the candidate a list of places, with their profit and salaries. When one is fixed upon, the agent names the known Don Guzman, as a person to be depended upon; tells the client, he must send his honour a hamper of wine; if the place they are in treaty for be considerable, a hogshead. At next meeting, the price is agreed on; but unfortunately this employment is half promised to another: however, he believes that that difficulty may be removed for twenty or thirty guineas; which, being but a trifle, is immediately given. After two or three meetings more, perhaps, the bubble hath access to the don himself; who assumes great airs, says the thing shall be done, he has already spoken to the queen or lord treasurer. At parting, the agent tells the officer elect, there is immediate occasion for forty or fifty guineas, to be given among clerks, or servants, or some great minister. Thus the poor place-hunter is drilled on, from one month to another, perpetually squeezed of ready money, and nothing done. This trade Don Guzman has carried on for many years, and frequently with five or six dupes in hand at a time, and perhaps all of them for one place. I know it will be the wonder of many people, as it has been mine, how such impostures as these could be so frequently repeated, and how so many disappointed people could be kept from making a noise and clamour that may ruin the trade and credit of this bold projector; but it is with him as with almanack makers, who gain more reputation by one right guess, than they lose by a thousand wrong ones. Besides, I have already observed, that, once or twice in his life, he did actually provide for one or two persons; farther, it was his constant rule,

whatever employment was given away, to assure his clients that he had the chief hand in disposing of it. When a man had no more to give, or was weary of attending, the excuse was, either that he had some private enemies, or the queen was engaged for that turn, or that he must think of something else: and then it was a new business, required new fees, and new hampers of wine; or, lastly, Don Guzman was not to be seen, or talked cold and dry, or in very great haste, and so the matter dwindled to nothing: the poor pretender to an employment discovered the cheat too late, was often ashamed to complain, and was only laughed at when he did.

Having thus described some few of the qualifications which have so much distinguished this worthy manager; I shall crown all with informing you of the particulars of a late achievement, that will give him an everlasting renown. About two months ago, a gentleman of a good fortune had a mind to buy some considerable employment in the court, and sent a solicitor to negotiate this affair with Don Guzman's agent, who, after one or two meetings, told him the vicechamberlain's employment was to be disposed of, the person who now enjoyed it being wholly out of favour with the queen;* that the choice of his successor was in Don Guzman's power; that seven thousand pounds was the price, whereof four thousand was to be given to a lady who was foster-sister to the queen; two thousand to the present vicechamberlain, in consideration of his being turned out; and the remaining thousand to be divided be-

* Thomas Coke, Esq.

tween the great don and the two small agents : this was the result after several meetings, after two or three hampers of wine had been sent to Saint James's, and some guineas given to facilitate the putting off a bargain, which, as pretended, was begun for the employment, to another person. This matter went so far, that notes were interchangeably given between the two agents and their principal, as well relating to the thousand pounds which was to be divided among them, as to the main sum. Our projector was likewise very curious to know, whether the new vicechamberlain could speak French, which, he said, was absolutely necessary to his office ; whether he was well fashioned, had a genteel manner, and polite conversation ; and directed, that the person himself should, upon an appointed day, be seen walking in the garden before St James's house, that the lady, the queen's foster-sister, might judge of his mien, whether he were a sightly man, and, by his appearance, qualified for so great an employment. To carry the imposture farther, one Sunday, when, in the lord chamberlain's* absence, Mr vicechamberlain led her majesty to chapel, Don Guzman being there with his solicitor, said to him, with an expressive sneer, and a sort of rapture, " Ah, sir, what happiness ! I am ravished to think of it. I wish your friend was here now, to see the vicechamberlain handing the queen : I would make him give the other thousand pounds for his employment."

These are the circumstances of this story, as near as I can remember. How the ingenious don could have got off clean from this business, I

* Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury.

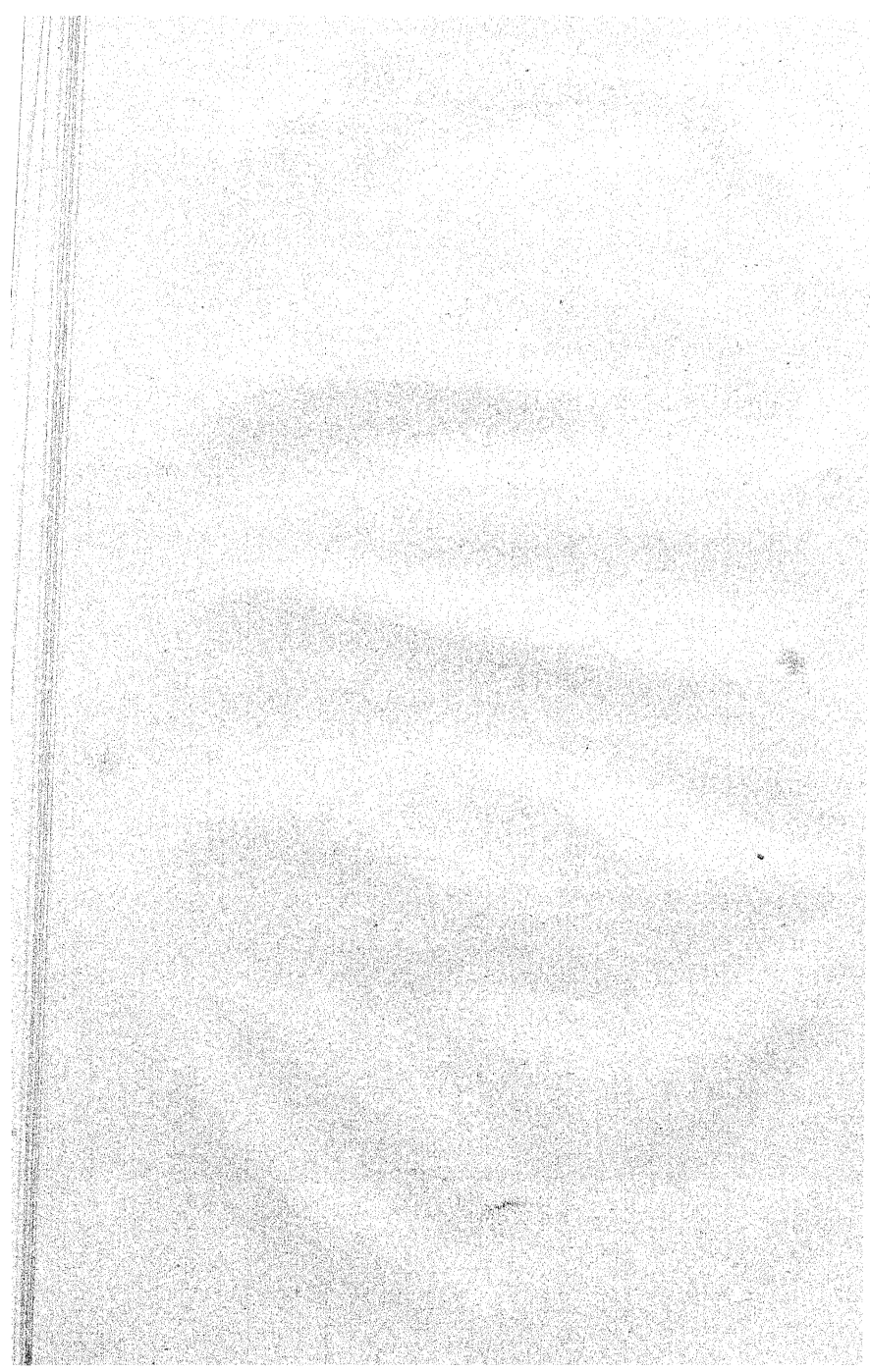
cannot possibly imagine: but it unfortunately happened, that he was not put to the trial of showing his dexterity; for the vicechamberlain, by what means I could never yet learn, got a little light into the matter. He was told that somebody had been treating for his place, and had information given him where to find the solicitor of the person who was to succeed him. He immediately sent for the man: who (not conceiving himself to be engaged in a dishonest action, and therefore conscious of no guilt) very freely told him all that he knew; and, as he had good reason, was as angry at the cheat put upon him and his friend, as the vicechamberlain himself; whereupon poor Don Guzman and his two agents were, at Mr vicechamberlain's request examined before a principal secretary of state, and their examinations taken in writing. But here I must with shame confess, that our hero's behaviour was much below his character; he shuffled and dodged, denied and affirmed, contradicted himself every moment, owned the fact, yet insisted on his honour and innocency. In short, his whole demeanour was such, that the rawest stockjobber in Exchange-alley would blush to see it. It is true, he hath since in some manner recovered his reputation; he talks boldly wherever he comes, as if he were the party injured, and as if he expected satisfaction; and, what is still more heroic, goes on in his old trade of disposing places, though not of such great consideration.

How the affair will end, I cannot tell; the vicechamberlain, between generosity and contempt, not being hitherto very forward in carrying it to a formal prosecution; and the rest of the court contenting themselves, some with laughing, and some in lifting up their eyes with admiration.

However, I think the matter well deserves to be recorded, both for the honour of the manager, and to let you and the world know, that great abilities and dexterity are not confined to Exchange-ally.

I am, sir,

Yours, &c.



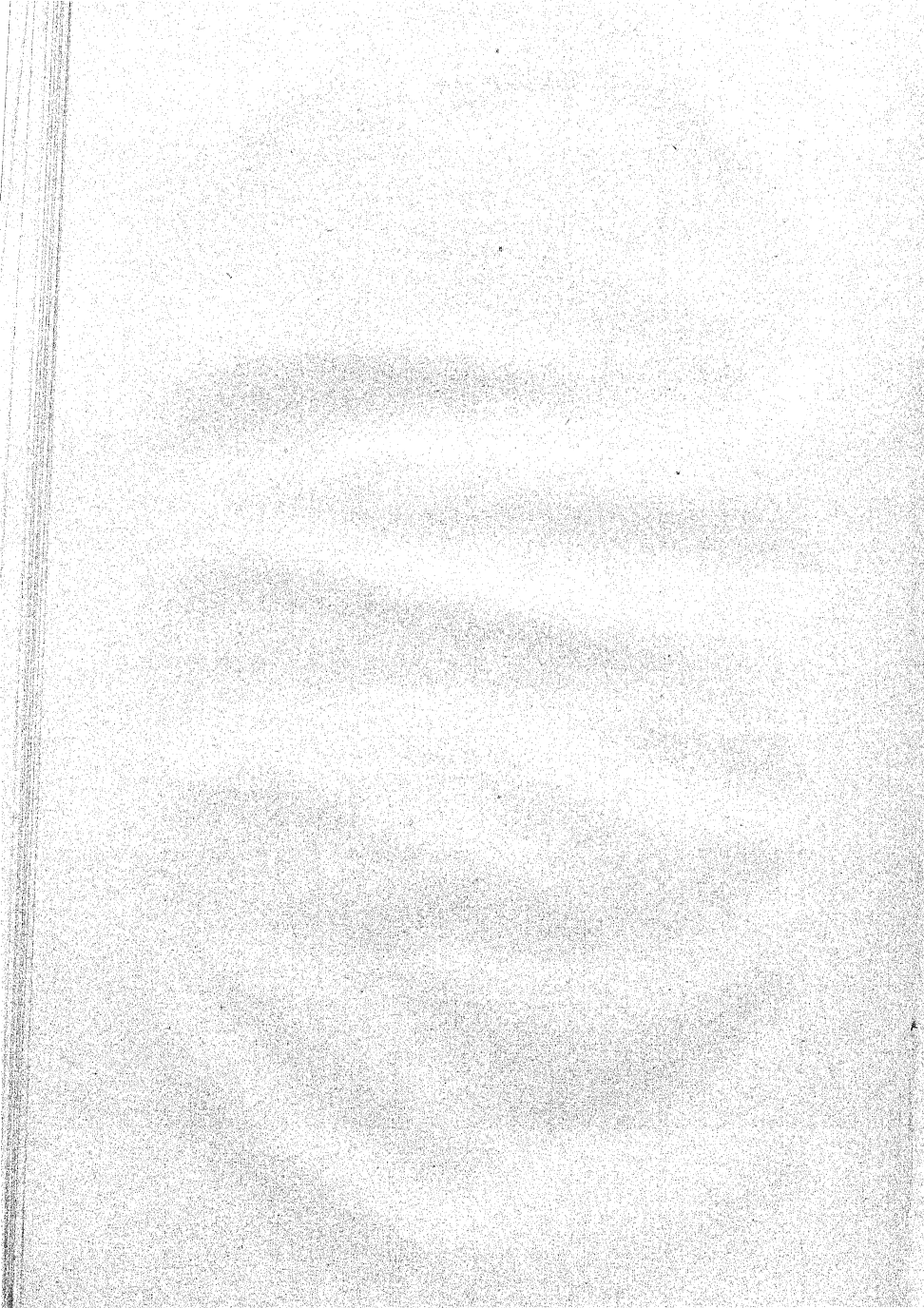
THE
STORY
OF THE
ST ALBAN'S GHOST,
OR THE
APPARITION
OF
MOTHER HAGGY.

COLLECTED FROM THE BEST MANUSCRIPTS.

*Sola, Novum, Dictuq, Nefus, Harpyia Celano
Prodigium canit, et tristes denuntiat Iras.*

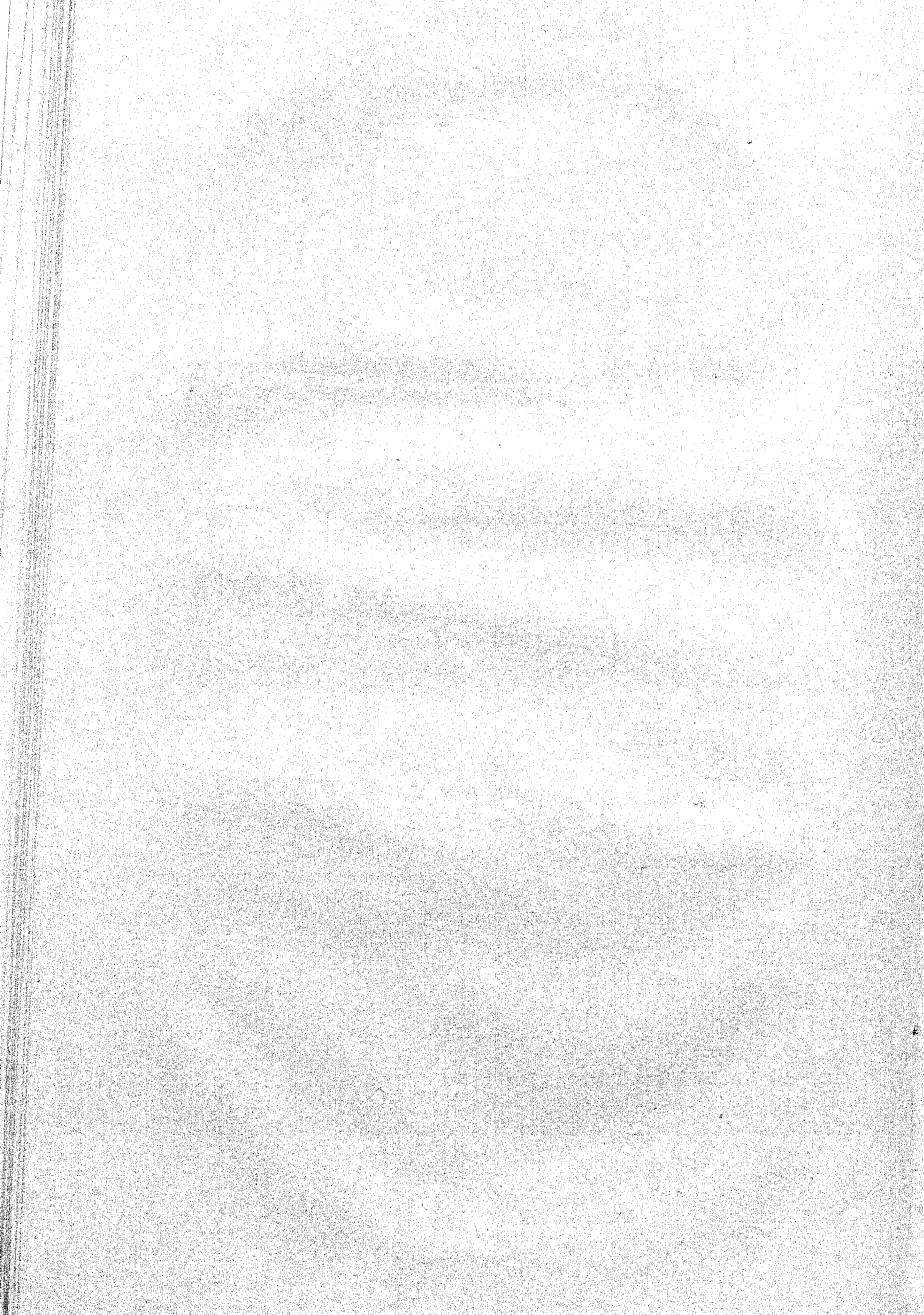
VIRGIL.

FIRST PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1712.



THE ST ALBANS GHOST.

THE following *jeu d'esprit* had a prodigious success, the copy used on the present occasion being marked as the fifth edition. It seems, judging from the style, to have been the joint work of Swift and Arbuthnot. Our author, with his usual ambiguity upon such occasions, mentions it thus in his Journal to Stelia, Feb. 22: "I went to Lord Masham's to-night, and Lady Masham made me read her a pretty two-penny pamphlet, called, 'The St Albans Ghost:' I thought I had writ it myself, so did they; but I did not." Vol. iii. p. 46. Notwithstanding this imperfect disavowal, I think the piece has such strong marks of Swift's manner, that we are only to understand by the expression, that he was not the sole author. At least it is as well entitled to a place among his legitimate writings, as the History of John Bull, and others, in which Arbuthnot had a principal, though unostentatious, share. The severity with which Garth is treated in the St Albans Ghost, countenances the idea that it was the work of a brother physician; the *odium medicum* being well known to equal in intensity every quality of the like kind, excepting the *odium theologicum*.



THE
STORY
OF
THE ST ALBANS GHOST.

I CAN scarcely say whether we ought to attribute the multitude of ghosts and apparitions, which were so common in the days of our forefathers, to the ignorance of the people, or the impositions of the priest. The Romish clergy found it undoubtedly for their interest to deceive them, and the superstition of the people laid themselves open to receive whatsoever they thought proper to inculcate. Hence it is, that their traditions are little else than the miracles and achievements of unbodied heroes, a sort of spiritual romance, so artfully carried on, and delivered in so probable a manner, as may easily pass for truth on those of an uncultivated capacity, or a credulous disposition. Our sectarists, indeed, still retain the credulity, as well as some of the tenets of that church; and apparitions, and such like, are still the bug-bears made use of by some of the most celebrated of their holders forth, to terrify the old women of their congregation, (who are their surest customers) and enlarge their quarterly subscriptions. I know one of these ambidexters, who never fails of ten or twenty pounds more than or-

dinary, by nicking something wonderful in due time; he often cloaths his whole family by the apparition of a person lately executed at Tyburn; or a whale seen at Greenwich, or thereabouts; and I am credibly informed, that his wife has made a visit with a brand new sable tippet on, since the death of the Tower lions.

But as these things will pass upon none but the ignorant and superstitious, so there are others that will believe nothing of this nature, even upon the clearest evidence. There are, it must be owned, but very few of these accounts to be depended on; some, however, are so palpable, and testified by so good authority, by those of such undoubted credit, and so discerning a curiosity, that there is no room to doubt of their veracity, and which none but a sceptic can disbelieve. Such is the following story of mother Haggy, of St Albans,* in the reign of King James the First: the mighty pranks she played in her life-time, and her apparition afterwards, made such a noise both at

* By this appellation we are to understand Frances, daughter of Sir Gifford Thornhurst, of Agnes Court in Kent, wife of Richard Jennings, of Sawbridge in the county of Hertford, and mother to the celebrated Sarah Duchess of Marlborough. The memory of this lady was severely handled by her daughter's political enemies. In Mrs Manley's scandalous chronicles, she is painted in colours of the blackest infamy; and in other Tory pamphlets, as in the text, she is characterized as a second edition of the celebrated Mother Shipton.

Dr Barrett has transcribed the following satire from the Lanesborough:

No wonder storms more dreadful are by far
Than all the losses of a twelve years war;
No wonder prelates do the church betray,
Old statesmen vote and act a different way;
No wonder magic arts surround the throne,
Old Mother Jennings in her Grace is known;
Old England's genius rouse, her charms dispel,
Burn but the witch, and all things will do well.

home and abroad, and were so terrible to the neighbourhood, that the country people, to this day, cannot hear the mention of her name without the most dismal apprehensions. The injuries they received from the sorceries and incantations of the mother, and the injustice and oppression of the son and daughter, have made so deep an impression upon their minds, and begot such an hereditary aversion to their memory, that they never speak of them, without the bitterest curses and imprecations.

I have made it my business, being at St Albans lately, to inquire more particularly into this matter, and the helps I have received from the most noted men of erudition in this city have been considerable, and to whom I make my public acknowledgment. The charges I have been at in getting manuscripts, and labour in collating them, the reconciling the disputes about the most material circumstances, and adjusting the various readings, as they have taken me up a considerable time, so I hope they may be done to the satisfaction of my reader. I wish I could have had time to have distinguished by an asterism the circumstances delivered by tradition only, from those of the manuscripts, which I was advised to do by my worthy friend the Rev. Mr Whiston,* who, had he not been employed otherways, might have been a very proper person to have undertaken such a performance.

The best manuscripts are now in the hands of the ingenious Dr Garth, where they are left for the curious to peruse, and where any clergyman

* The celebrated divine and philosopher, William Whiston, was about this time accused of heresy by the Convocation.

may be welcome; for however he may have been abused by those who deny him to be the author of the Dispensary,* and taxed by others with principles and practices unbecoming a man of his sense and probity, yet I will be bold to say in his defence, that I believe he is as good a christian as he is a poet, and if he publishes any thing on the late D——d M——y, I don't question but it will be interspersed with as many precepts of revealed religion, as the subject is capable of bearing: and it is very probable, those refined pieces that the doctor has been pleased to own, since the writing of the Dispensary, have been looked upon, by the lewd debauched critics of the town, to be dull and insipid, for no other reason, but because they are grave and sober; but this I leave for others to determine, and can say for his sincerity, that I am assured he believes the following relation as much as any of us all.

Mother Haggy was married to a plain homespun yeoman of St Albans, and lived in good repute for some years: the place of her birth is disputed, by some of the most celebrated moderns, though they have a tradition in the country, that she was never born at all, and which is most probable. At the birth of her daughter Haggite,† something happened very remarkable, and which gave occasion to the neighbourhood to mistrust she held a correspondence with Old Nick, as was

* Garth was suspected, however unjustly, of having received assistance in composing his celebrated satire, "The Dispensary." His religious opinions inclined to deism, although Pope says of him—

——— Garth, the best good christian he,
Although he knows it not.

† Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough.

confirmed afterwards, beyond the possibility of disproof. The neighbours were got together a merry-making, as they term it, in the country, when the old woman's high-crowned hat, that had been thrown upon the bed's tester during the heat of the engagement, leaped with a wonderful agility into the cradle, and being caught at by the nurse, was metamorphosed into a coronet, which, according to her description, was not much unlike that of a German prince; but it soon broke into a thousand pieces. "Such," cries old mother Haggy, "will be the fortune of my daughter, and such her fall." The company took but little notice of what she said, being surprised at the circumstance of the hat. But this is fact, says the Reverend and Honourable Lumley Lloyd,* and my grandmother, who was a person of condition, told me, says he, she knew the man, who knew the woman, who was, said she, in the room at that instant. The very same night I saw a comet, neither have I any occasion to tell a lie as to this particular, says my author, brandishing its tail in a very surprising manner in the air; but upon the breaking of a cloud, I could discern, continues he, a clergyman at the head of a body of his own cloth, and followed by an innumerable train of laity, who coming towards the comet, it disappeared.

This was the first time mother Haggy became suspected, and it was the opinion of the wisest of the parish, that they should petition the king to send her to be tried for a witch by the Presbytery

* The Hon. Lumley Lloyd, rector of Covent Garden, incurred the resentment of the Tories, by a sermon preached by him, 30th January, 1711-12.

of Scotland. How this past off I cannot tell, but certain it is, that some of the great ones of the town were in with her, and it is said she was serviceable to them in their amours: she had a wash that would make the skin of a blackamoor as white as alabaster, and another that would restore the loss of a maidenhead, without any hinderance of business, or the knowledge of any one about them. She tried this experiment so often upon her daughter Haggite, that more than twenty were satisfied they had her virginity before marriage.

She soon got such a reputation all about the country, that there was not a cow, a smock, or a silver spoon lost, but they came to her to enquire after it; all the young people flocked to have their fortunes told, which, they say, she never missed. She told Haggite's husband he should grow rich, and be a great man, but by his covetousness and griping of the poor, should come to an ill end. All which happened so exactly, that there are several old folks in our town, who can remember it as if it was but yesterday.

She has been often seen to ride full gallop upon a broom-stick at noon-day, and swim over a river in a kettle-drum. Sometimes she would appear in the shape of a lioness, and at other times, of a hen, or a cat; but I have heard, could not turn herself into a male creature, or walk over two straws across. There were never known so many great winds as about that time, or so much mischief done by them: the pigs grunted, and the screech-owls hooted oftener than usual; a horse was found dead one morning with hay in his mouth; and a large over-grown jack was caught in a fish-pond thereabouts, with a silver tobacco-box in his belly; several women were brought to

bed of two children, some miscarried, and old folks died very frequently.

These things could not choose but breed a great combustion in the town, as they call it, and every body certainly had rejoiced at her death, had she not been succeeded by a son and daughter, who, though they were no conjurors, were altogether as terrible to the neighbourhood. She had two daughters, one of which was married to a man who went beyond sea; the other, her daughter Haggite, to Avaro,* whom we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel of this story.

There lived at that time in the neighbourhood two brothers, of a great family, persons of a vast estate and character, and extremely kind to their servants and dependants. Haggite, by her mother's interest, was got into this family, and Avaro, who was afterwards her husband, was the huntsman's boy. He was a lad of a fine complexion, good features, and agreeable to the fair sex, but wanted the capacity of some of his fellow servants: though he got a reputation afterwards for a man of courage, but upon no other grounds than by setting the country fellows to cudgelling or boxing, and being a spectator of a broken head and a bloody nose.

There are several authentic accounts of the behaviour of these two, in their respective stations, and by what means they made an advancement of their fortunes. There are several relations, I say, now extant, that tell us, how one of these great brothers took Avaro's sister for his mistress,† which was the foundation of his preferment, and

* The Duke of Marlborough.

† Miss Churchill was mistress to James II. when Duke of York.

how Haggite, by granting her favours to any one who would go to the expence of them, became extremely wealthy, and how both had gained the art of getting money out of every body they had to do with, and by the most dishonourable methods. Never, perhaps, was any couple so matched in every thing as these, or so fit for one another: a couple so linked by the bonds of iniquity, as well as marriage, that it is impossible to tell which had the greatest crimes to answer for.

It will be needless to relate the fortune of the brothers, who were their successive masters, and the favours they bestowed on them. It is sufficient that the estate came at last to a daughter of the younger brother, a lady who was the admiration of the age she lived in, and the darling of the whole country, and who had been attended from her infancy by Haggite.

Then it was Avaro began his tyranny; he was entrusted with all the affairs of consequence, and there was nothing done without his knowledge. He married his daughters to some of the most considerable estates in the neighbourhood, and was related by marriage to one Baconface,* a sort of bailiff to his lady. He and Baconface and Haggite got into possession, as it were, of their lady's estate, and carried it with so high a hand, were so haughty to the rich, and oppressive to the poor, that they quickly began to make themselves odious; but for their better security, they formed a sort of confederacy with one Dammyblood;† Clumzy,‡ their son-in-law; Splitcause,§ an at-

* Sidney Earl of Godolphin.

† Thomas Earl of Wharton.

‡ The Earl of Sunderland, son-in-law to the Duke of Marlborough.

§ Lord Somers.

torney; and Mouse,* a noted ballad-maker, and some others. As soon as they had done this, they began so to domineer, that there was no living for those who would not compliment, or comply with them in their villany. Haggite cried, Lord, madam, to her mistress, it must be so; Avaro swore, by G—d, and Baconface shook his head and looked dismally. They made every tenant pay a tax, and every servant considerably out of his wages, toward the mounding their lady's estate, as they pretended, but most part of it went into their own pockets. Once upon a time, the tenants grumbling at their proceedings, Clumzy, the son-in-law, brought in a parcel of beggars to settle on the estate.† Thus they lived for some years, till they grew richer than their mistress, and were, perhaps, the richest servants in the world: nay, what is the most remarkable, and will scarcely find belief in future ages, they began at last to deny her title to the estate, and affirm, she held it only by their permission and connivance.

Things were come to this pass, when one of the tenant's sons from Oxford, preached up obedience to their lady, and the necessity of their downfall who opposed it.‡ This opened the eyes of all the honest tenants, but enraged Avaro and his party, to that degree, that they had hired a pack of managed bull-dogs, with a design to bait him, and had done it infallibly, had not the gentry interposed, and the country people run in to his assistance. These, with much ado, muzzled the dogs,

* Lord Halifax; called *Mouse* because he first distinguished himself by writing, in conjunction with Prior, "The Town and Country Mouse," a parody on Dryden's *Hind and Panther*.

† The Palatines.

‡ Alluding to the sermon of Sacheverel, and its consequences.

and petitioned their lady to discard the mismanagers, who consented to it.

Great were the endeavours, and great the struggles of the faction, for so they were called, to keep themselves in power, as the histories of those times mention. They stirred up all their lady's acquaintance to speak to her in their behalf, wrote letters to and fro, swore and cursed, laughed and cried, told the most abominable and inconsistent lies, but all to no purpose: they spent their money, lavished away their beef, pudding, and October, most unmercifully, and made several jointed-babies to shew for sights, and please the tenants sons about Christmas.*

Old Drybones† was then the parson of the parish, a man of the most notorious character, who would change his principles at any time to serve a turn, preach or pray *extempore*, talk nonsense, or any thing else, for the advancement of Avaro and his faction. He was looked upon to be the greatest artist in legerdemain in that country, and had a way of shewing the pope and little master in a box; but the figures were so very small, it was impossible for any body, but himself, to discern them. He was hired, it is supposed, to tax the new servants with popery, together with their mistress, which he preached in several churches thereabouts; but his character was too well known to make any thing credited that came from him.

There are several particulars related, both by tradition and the manuscripts, concerning the turning out of these servants, which would require

* See the preceding account of the intended tumult.

† Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury.

greater volumes than I design. It is enough, that notwithstanding their endeavours, they were discarded, and the lady chose her new servants out of the most honest and substantial of her tenants, of undoubted abilities, who were tied to her by inclination as well as duty. These began a reformation of all the abuses committed by Avaro and Baconface, which discovered such a scene of roguery to the world, that one would hardly think the most mercenary favourites could be guilty of.

Avaro now began to be very uneasy, and to be affrighted at his own conscience; he found nothing would pacify the enraged tenants, and that his life would be but a sufficient recompence for his crimes. His money, which he relied on, and which he lavished away to bribe off his destruction, had not force enough to protect him. He could not, as it is reported, sit still in one place for two minutes, never slept at all, eat little or nothing, talked very rambling and inconsistent, of merit, hardships, accounts, perquisites, commissioners, bread, and bread-waggons, but was never heard to mention any cheese.

He came and made a confession in his own house to some people he never saw before in his life, and which shews no little disorder in his brain, that, whatever they might think of him, he was as dutiful a servant as any his mistress had. Haggite raved almost as bad as he, and had got St Anthony's fire in her face; but it is a question, says Dr Garth, whether there was any thing ominous in that, since, it is probable, the distemper only changed its situation.

Meanwhile it was agreed by Baconface and others, that a consultation should be called at Avaro's house, something decisive resolved on,

in order to prevent their ruin ; and, accordingly, Jacobo the messenger was sent to inform the cabal of it.

Dismal and horrid was the night of that infernal consultation ! nothing heard but the melancholy murmuring of winds, and the croaking of toads and ravens ; every thing seemed wild and desert, and double darkness overspread the hemisphere : thunder and lightning, storms and tempest, and earthquakes, seemed to presage something more than ordinary, and added to the confusion of that memorable night. Nature sickened and groaned, as it were, under the tortures of universal ruin. Not a servant in the house but had dreamed the strangest dreams, and Haggite herself had seen a stranger in the candle. The fire languished and burnt blue, and the crickets sung continually about the oven. How far the story is true concerning the warming-pan and dishes, I cannot say ; but certain it is, a noise was heard like that of rolling pease from the top of the house to the bottom ; and the windows creaked, and the doors rattled in a manner not a little terrible. Several of their servants made affidavit, that Haggite lost a red petticoat, a ruff, and a pair of green stockings, that were her mother's, but the night before, and a diamond-cross once given her by a great man.*

It was about midnight before this black society got together, and no sooner were they seated, when Avaro opened to them in this manner. We have tried, says he, my friends, all the arti-

* This seems to be the " known story of the diamond," mentioned in the *Vindication of the Duke of Marlborough*, but now forgotten.

fices we could invent or execute, but all in vain. Our mistress has discovered plainly our intentions, and the tenants will be neither flattered, nor frightened, nor bribed into our interest. It remains therefore, and what though we perish in the attempt, we must perish otherwise, that once for all we make a push at the very life of — when, lo! says the manuscript, an unusual noise interrupted his discourse, and Jacobo cried out, the devil, the devil at the door. Scarce had he time to speak, or they to listen, when the apparition of Mother Haggy entered; but, who can describe the astonishment they were then in? Haggite swooned away in the elbow chair as she sat, and Avaro, notwithstanding his boasted courage, slunk under the table in an instant: Baconface screwed himself into a thousand postures; and Clumzy trembled till his very water trickled from him. Splitcause tumbled over a joint-stool, and Mouse the ballad-maker broke a brandy bottle that had been Haggite's companion for some years; but Dammyblood, Dammyblood only was the man that had the courage to cry out, G-d d-mn your bl-d, what occasion for all this bustle? Is it not the devil, and is he not our old acquaintance? This revived them in some measure; but the ghastliness of the spectacle made still some impression on them. There was an unaccountable irregularity in her dress, a wanness in her complexion, and a disproportion in her features. Flames of fire issued from her nostrils, and a sulphurous smoke from her mouth, which, together with the condition some of the company were in, made a very noisome and offensive smell; and I have been told, says a very grave alderman of St Albans, some of them saw her cloven foot.

I come, says she, at length, (in an hollow voice,

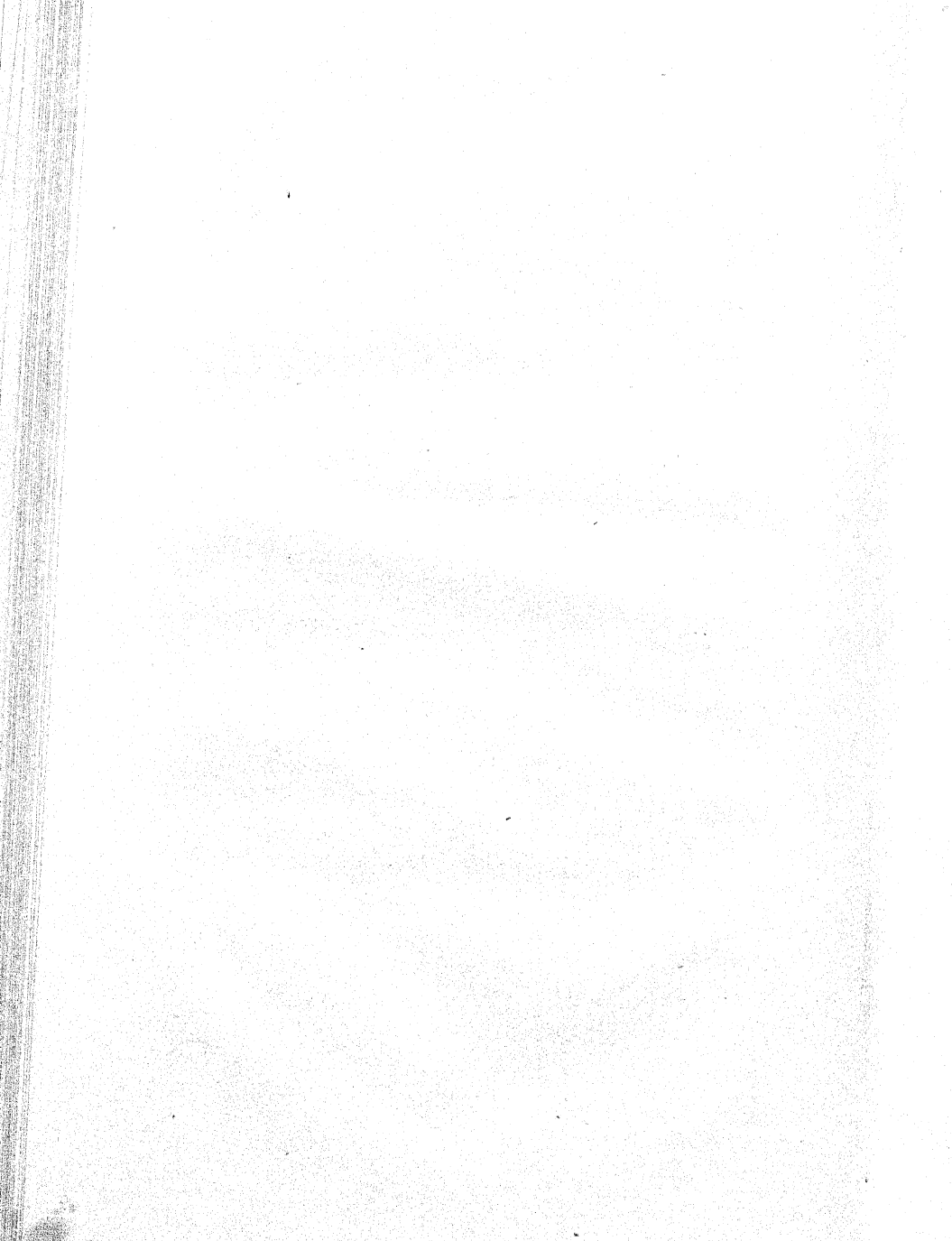
more terrible than the celebrated Stentor, or the brawny Caledonian,) I come, O ye accomplices in iniquity, to tell you of your crimes, to bid you desist from these cabals, for they are fruitless, and prepare for punishment that is certain. I have, as long as I could, assisted you in your glorious, execrable attempts, but time is now no more; the time is coming when you must be delivered up to justice. As to you, O son and daughter, said she, turning to them, 'tis but a few revolving moons, e'er you must both fall a sacrifice to your avarice and ambition, as I have told you heretofore, but your mistress will be too merciful, and though your ready money must be refunded, your estate in land will descend unto your heirs. But you, O Baconface, you have merited nothing to save either your life or your estate, be contented therefore with the loss of both: And, Clumzy, says she, you must share the same fate; your insolence to your lady, and the beggars you brought in upon the tenants, will require it. Dammyblood, continues she, turning towards him, you must expect a considerable fine; but Splitcause and Mouse may come off more easily. She said, gave a shriek, and disappeared; and the cabal dispersed with the utmost consternation.

THE
CHARACTER
OF
RICHARD STEELE, Esq.
WITH SOME
REMARKS.

BY
TOBY, ABEL'S KINSMAN;
OR,
ACCORDING TO MR CALAMY, A. F. & N.
IN A LETTER TO HIS GODFATHER.

Bella inter Geminos plusquam civilia Fratres. EPIGR.

FIRST PRINTED FOR JOHN MORPHEW, IN 1713.



THE CHARACTER OF STEELE, &c.

THIS satire upon Steele was generally imputed to Swift, at its first appearance in 1713, and was reprinted as his in the *Gulliverian*, 1728, with the following abusive preface:

"The reader is to understand, that Captain Gulliver's first attachments in England, were to the Whigs; that he wrote the "Contest of Athens and Rome," and many other pieces, on whiggish principles; that his patron was a Whig; that the captain gave into his patron's way of thinking; and the reader is to know, lastly, that at the captain's first appearing in public and in print, at London, he conversed only with Whigs, particularly Lord Wharton, Addison, and Steele.

"But when the late Q—— changed her successful ministry, she changed the whole captain; and the captain changed his opinions, changed his conscience, changed his company, and betook to O—d, O—h, B—k, P—e, A—t, M—y, and G—; changing his style at the same time, and writing continually in opposition to the persons and principles which he had espoused from his youth.

"While the captain flourished, in the height and heat of his labours, to favour the Jacobite cause, in *Examiners*, *Conducts*, *Toby's Remarks*, *Ballads*, and all kinds of writing, public and private, Sir Richard Steele was the chief protestant hero of the press, who, by his *Englishman*, *Guardian*, *Crisis*, *Dunkirk*, and other approved writings, in favour of the house of Hanover, stemmed the tide, in the judgment of all unprejudiced readers, and turned the hearts of the people against the then managers for the Pretender.

"The success of Sir Richard Steele so incensed the party, that they took every measure to distress him; they turned him out of his employment, and they expelled him the house of commons. His fortune was broke, and his person and life were reckoned in danger; and it was under these prosperous circumstances, that the pious and humane captain sends *Toby*, in his ridiculous way, to support and comfort him. That very captain! who was Steele's old friend, and fellow-writer; that captain, whom Steele loved, and never disobliged, unless it could be by his writing in favour of our constitution, against the Pretender.

" But I'll detain you no longer from the entertainment of Master Toby, alias Gulliver, alias Sw—t, alias Examiner, alias D—n of St P—'s, alias Drapier, alias Bickerstaff, alias Kemarker, alias Journalist, alias Sonnetteer, alias Scriblerus."

Titulo res digna sepulchri.

Juv.

Notwithstanding the assertion of this abusive scribbler, we are not to receive the character which follows as the undoubted composition of Swift. Yet considering the violence with which he assailed Steele, in the " Importance of the Guardian," and " Public Spirit of the Whigs," it is likely that he may have revised, improved, and corrected the following pamphlet. The principal author of the tract was probably Dr Wagstaffe, but it must be allowed to contain some strokes of Swift's peculiar humour.

Toby, in whose name the satire was given to the public, was nephew and servant, or journeyman, of Abel Roper, publisher of the " Post-boy." The man's real name was Edward King ; but it seems that, as often happens to originals in low life, he was generally known by the nick-name of Toby. By setting up the servant of a news-writer, himself sufficiently low and infamous, as the critic and opponent of Steele, the real author hoped doubtless to degrade the object of his satire. The pamphlet is adorned with a head of the pseudo-author. Mr Granger saw a print of Toby inscribed, in manuscript, Dr Wagstaffe; which seems to confirm the opinion that he was chiefly concerned in the tract which bore that person's name.

THE
CHARACTER

OF
RICHARD STEELE, Esq.

SIR,

I HAVE sent you the late performances of Mr Steele, who, in my opinion, has, after all the false glosses that have been put upon him, drawn his own picture to the life, and given us a better sketch of his mind, than ever we had of his short face. You will excuse me, sir, if I interrupt you a little in making my observations upon one who has so freely made his observations upon his queen and government. It will be no injury, I am persuaded, to the Examiner, to borrow him a little, upon promise of returning him safe, as children do their play things, when their mirth is over, and they have done with them; I cannot, I must confess, but promise myself a little merriment, and, in imitation of the laudable custom of our countrymen at Hockley, shall endeavour, after Bruin has been sufficiently baited in another manner, to give the company the diversion of the wheel-barrow.

All that Mr Steele contends for at present is to be thought the politician of the company, and, though an infant, and a pigmy in his profession, to deal with statesmen of a gigantic stature, and surpassing his upholsterer* in argument; and he has behaved himself with such mighty prowess in his first encounters, that it is suspected he writes by the direction of Mr Ridpath, and that his shield and his sword are the gift of some famous necromancer, and equal in virtue to Mambrino's helmet. I would desire you, sir, to take notice, I say it is *suspected* only, he writes by the assistance of Mr Ridpath, since I would by no means offer that gentleman an injury, now he is dead and gone, who, perhaps, if he was alive, would be unwilling to be concerned with Mr Steele.† If the jay borrowed a feather from the peacock, another from the bullfinch, and another from the magpye, it is no argument that Dick is made of borrowed colours, that he borrowed his humour of Estcourt, his criticism of Addison, his poetry of Pope, or his politics of Ridpath; and that his qualifications, as a man of sense, like Mr Thompson's as a member of parliament, lie in thirteen parishes.

It may be disputed perhaps, whether the Irish or Scotch Rogue has passed the most editions, or who has the best claim to preferment, since the same vein of knavery is the subject of them both. Affinity of sense is no argument that they are both concerned in writing the same piece, or that

* A character in the Tatler of a tradesman who run mad upon politics.

† Ridpath, often already mentioned, was the conductor of the Flying Post, a Whig newspaper. See vol. IV. p. 398.

the Englishman is equivocally generated by the copulation of the Scotch and Irish, and, like a mule, inherits an equal share of the virtues of each of its progenitors. Two persons of different nations and the same principle, may sometimes jump in their ideas of men and things, but it is a wrong inference to suppose, that none but a Scotchman would give the Flying Post the character of honest, as if standing in the pillory was no test of his integrity with an Irish evidence. Wise men are always cautious of the character of those, who have trod the paths of honour and virtue before them, who have been conspicuous in those preferments they are solicitous to ascend.

I have sent you the best information of the reasons of the conduct of our upstart, and have endeavoured to solve all the phenomena of his turning politician; and if, in giving you the history of his late proceedings, I should say something that may occasion him to call me graceless rogue, or rascal, or give me any other appellation, adapted to the mouth of a political reformer, if he falls into passion with any man of quality, instead of returning me an answer, you must not say he is rude or angry, or giving ill language; you must approve of his behaviour and his management; it is the method lately of political controversy, and an admirable artifice of evading an antagonist. A man, of late years, is thought as much a conqueror when he runs out of the field and escapes, as if he kills his adversary upon the spot.

Mr Steele, sir, having lately had a Welch estate left him by his wife's mother, began to look upon himself as a considerable person in land, as well as sense, as is natural for those who have been indigent and necessitous all their lives. He was told by the minor poets, his companions at

Button's, that a man of his sense must undoubtedly advance himself by being in the senate, and that he knew the world, as Dick himself insinuates in his Treatise upon Demolition, as well as any man in England, and had all the qualifications requisite for a minister of state. There was no great occasion to press him to any thing of this nature: he embraced it with all the eagerness imaginable, but offered at first a sort of *nolo episcopari*, that it might go down the more plausibly. He considered wisely that his wit and credit began to run very low, that the chief of his assistants had deserted him, that C. Lilly had lately refused to lend him half a crown, Jacob* dunned him more than was consistent with good manners, and if he got into the house he could not be arrested. What seduced him more than all these considerations, was a pension from the party double the income of the Stamp-Office, at present, and in hand, for speaking in the house; and he has amassed together a multitude of set speeches, which he designs to get extempore for that purpose. He is at this time so elated, I am told, that he has already promised several places under him, when he is secretary or lord treasurer. Mr Button is an auditor of the exchequer, and Mr Bat. Pigeon, in the room of Sir Clement, master of the ceremonies. He has declared publicly, he does not question overturning the ministry, and doing that before the first sessions of parliament is over, which my Lord W. and S. have been foiled at for three years together.

I need not tell you, sir, how exulted he seemed at Stockbridge, and after what manner he address-

* Jacob Tonson, the bookseller.

sed the bailiff and his brethren. There was nothing there to perplex him, but the payment of a 300l. bond, which lessened the sum he carried down, and which an odd dog of a creditor had intimation of, and took this opportunity to recover. But, alas! alas! We may date the ruin of the man, and the loss of his intellects, from this juncture; as soon as he came to town, the political *cacoethes* began to break out upon him with greater violence, because it had been suppressed, and he who had lived so long upon the lucubrations of others, was resolved at last to do something. Mr John Snow has since received such marks of his favour and esteem, that he has appealed to him in the dispute betwixt himself and his prince, whether it was expedient to demolish Dunkirk or not, and has chosen himself and the bailiff of a petty corporation to be directors of her majesty. To convince his electors he can write, he has dedicated a book to their bailiff, and for their civility in attempting to choose him, has inflicted the punishment of reading it, upon the corporation.*

There is no occasion at this time to animadvert on the argument of his letter, so well refuted by the demolition itself; and, as the case stood then, the whole dispute was frivolous and of no importance. The person of Monsieur Tugghe was obscure, if not feigned; his memorial inconsiderable, if not written by Mr Steele; her majesty stedfast in her resolution to demolish the town and harbour, and her ministry declaring it: but all this was not enough for our champion's satis-

* See Swift's remarks upon this publication in "The Importance of the Guardian considered," Vol. IV. p. 355.

faction ; he had promised to oblige Mr Snow with some diversion at his own expense, and, like the renowned Le Mancha, singles out a windmill to encounter. Dreadful and bloody was the battle on both sides, and that insolent burgher of a foreign corporation deserved to be chastised for affronting her majesty, when none but a senator, or a subject who is not accountable to his queen, ought to be allowed that liberty.

I know not, I must confess, by what means he will evade the charge of insolence and ingratitude ; he ought undoubtedly to have been very certain, that her majesty was resolved never to demolish Dunkirk, that the *Sieur Tugghe's* memorial was wrote by the direction of the ministry, and that her majesty had no reason for deferring the demolition. This would have been proper, I say, for him to have enquired, and when he had been ascertained of these things, if he had given his opinion of the importance of demolishing that place, with modesty and submission as a private author, he ought not to have told the queen that the representative body of the whole nation immediately expected it,* when he had no

* See vol. IV. p. 365.

Swift upbraided Steele on other occasions with this indecorous expression, and hinted, reasonably enough, that he durst not have used the same freedom to his wife as to his sovereign. It happens rather oddly that Steele confirms this assertion in the following epistle to his lady.

"DEAR PRUE,

Wednesday, April 24, 1717.

"I have a letter from your secretary, intimating you were going to see the judges, and could not write yourself. I would not use so harsh a phrase as *expect*, though I have formerly taken the liberty of that word when it concerned a queen ; but I beseech you,

commission from them. If he was insolent and ungrateful to her majesty under the name of Mr Ironside, he ought not to father his spurious brats, or his libels, upon the nation or parliament; and, however unaccountable he may think himself, he may have an opportunity to repent it.

But he remembers a certain person, who wished the necks of all mankind consolidated in one, that he might the more commodiously demolish the whole species at once, and endeavours, in imitation of this great example, to cut off the constitution of Great Britain at a blow.

A man of such a charity and public spirit is heroically illustrious: our ancestors of forty-one brought on the civil war by the same stratagem of setting the king and parliament at variance.

You will find, sir, in the packet I have sent you, that the Examiner has answered all his reasons, if they can be called so, beyond the possibility of a reply; but our new politician, who knows the world and himself better than to take an answer, has recourse to another stratagem; and instead of replying one word to the Examiner, without any sense of handsome language, or good manners, falls a throwing dirt, and abusing the unblemished character of a minister of state, by whose interest alone, he has been continued three years in the Stamp Office.

This, sir, is that gentleman of merit! that hero of good sense! that man of charity and public spirit! that censor of Great Britain! that venerable Nestor!

when you have health, to employ your own fair hand to, Madam,
your most obliged and affectionate husband,

RICH. STEELE.

O, ye literati of Button's coffee-house! Ye ladies of St James's! Ye milliners of the Exchange! Ye upholsterers of the city! Ye stock-jobbers of Jonathan's! Ye neighbours of Sir Roger, and ye family of the Lizards! Behold the patron of learning! the encourager of arts and sciences! the dispenser of morality and philosophy! the demolisher of tuckers and hooped petticoats! the terror of politicians! and the debellator of news-writers! dwindled on a sudden into an author below the character of Dunton!* below the politics of Ridpath! Ungratefully insulting his queen, and committing petty-larceny upon the reputation of a great man! See the man who talked like an oracle, who had all the gay, the delicate, the humorous, at his command, calling names, and daubing his style with the language of a scavenger!

O tempora! O mores! More phlebotomy and fresh straw—

For the man in the moon drinks claret,
Eats powdered beef, turnip, and carrot.

Is this that Richard Steele, Esq. who published the Tatlers and Spectators, who was believed to be one of the most accomplished gentlemen in the world? It is impossible! 'Tis some impostor, some enemy to that gentleman, some savage miscreant, who had his birth and education in a place more barbarous than Carrickfergus.

If Mr Steele, sir, was ever a man of parts, he is strangely degenerated, and has undergone a greater alteration on a sudden, than any in Ovid's Metamorphosis, though the following account, in

* John Dunton, a broken bookseller, author of "Neck or Nothing," and other abusive political effusions,

my opinion, may be as properly applied to Apollo and Mr Ironside, as to the person spoken of by that author, which, for the benefit of the city politicians, I shall leave in the original:

—*Nec Delius aures*

Humanam stolidas patitur retinere figuram,

Sed trahit in spatium; villisque alcentibus implet;

Induiturque aures lente gradientis Aselli.

OID.

Our author has given his reputation such a stab, that I can scarcely think but he is in some measure guilty of self-murder, and as dead as Dr Partridge, or any other person he killed formerly.* If the coroner's inquest was to examine him, the Welsh estate would, in all probability, be in danger, was it not for the *salvo* of *non compos*. It is a miserable consideration, when a man exposes his morals and integrity to sale, when he lets his wit by the day, and jades and hackneys down his genius to supply his luxury. I should have thought Mr Steele might have had the example of his friend† before his eyes, who had the reputation of being author of the Dispensary, till, by two or three unlucky after-claps, he proved himself incapable of writing it.

But we ought to have another opinion of our adviser of princes, if we reflect on what he tells us in his Importance, that an honest, though a mean man, gives her majesty to understand, that the British nation expects the immediate demolition of Dunkirk: "Expects it," says he, "from the duty they owe their queen, from their care of the

* The jest of killing Partridge, the conjuror, was rather too often repeated in the Tatler.

† Dr Garth.

preservation of her sacred life, her crown and dignity, from the honour and integrity of her councils, from the glorious advantages of her arms, from the faith and sincerity of her treaties, from the veneration and regard due to her from his most christian majesty, and from the duty they owe themselves and their posterity; and is this insolence and ingratitude?" If we had leisure to examine this construction, it would open to us a field of incongruity; but I shall rather give you the true reasons of the expectations of himself and his party, abstracted from the false meanings he has put upon them. The party then expects it,—from a particular care of the Dutch trade, and from an apprehension that England should be too powerful; from the duty they owe the Dutch and their posterity; from an endeavour to blacken and asperse the peace; from a jealousy that the present ministry are in the interest of the church; from an uneasiness they are under because of her majesty's administration, and from a desire of seeing her successor upon the throne; and is *this* insolence and ingratitude?

You may imagine, sir, perhaps, I wrong the demolisher in my interpretation of this passage, especially if we consider him as one who professes, that the highest pleasure of an human soul consists in charity. "As to laying aside," says he, "those common views, by which the mistaken world are actuated, a man of liberal education can easily surmount those low considerations; and when he considers himself from the moment he was born into this world as an immortal, though a changeable being; he will form his interests and prospects accordingly, and not make provision for eternity with perishable things. When a man has planted such a sentiment as this, for the rule

of his conduct, the pursuits of avarice and ambition will be as contemptible as the sports of children; and there can be no honours, no riches, no pleasures, which can possibly come in competition with the satisfactions of an enlarged and public spirit."

Was Mr Steele the person he here would represent himself, I would allow the sense he puts upon his own words. This is such a gift of virtue and philosophy which a man of liberal education can hardly ever arrive to, how easily soever he may surmount those low considerations, and is never perhaps to be found in any person, much less in one, who bestows it upon himself. I wish indeed I could find any one who would give him this character; I have hunted every where, I have conversed with his companions and creditors, with his friends and enemies, and, I must confess, I never yet met the man, who had so good an opinion of his veracity, as to believe him in trifles and matters of the least importance.

You may blame me, perhaps, for reminding our author of his debts; and I should justly think myself blameable, were they not the effects of his luxury, his vanity and ambition, and not of accident or misfortune. I could easily excuse and pity a man for being poor, but not when he labours by his vices to undo himself; not when he endeavours to make a figure, or become a senator, at the expense of his creditors. Some civilians look upon such chemists, who are searchers only of the philosopher's stone,* as unfit to be tolerated in any community, because they reduce not only themselves and families to beggary, but se-

* Steele's researches in alchemy are here sneered at.

veral other people; and certainly spendthrifts and projectors of any sort are equally pernicious, and are so far from having any spice of public spirit, so much boasted of by some, that they are useless members to the government they live under, and a nuisance to the public. Where is the public spirit of such a man, who will be bribed to recommend a barber, a buffoon, or a perfumer to the world, to carry on intrigues, which a man of honour would blush to hear of, and to pimp in print? * Where is his charity and benevolence to mankind, who is squandering away a handsome competency among the illegitimate, who is running into every body's debt, and paying nobody? Where is his disinterest who votes for more than double an equivalent of the Stamp-Office? Are the pursuits of avarice and ambition contemptible to such an one? And is this laying aside the common views by which the mistaken world are actuated?

Pardon me, sir, however merry I have been, I can contain no longer: public spirit, charity, benevolence to mankind, and disinterest, are virtues known to our mushroom patriot by name only, and it raises the contempt and indignation of every honest man, to hear a person of the vilest principles, and the most mercenary hireling who ever prostituted his pen in the defence of any faction, giving himself such an air of sanctity and virtue. A man of such a public and enlarged spirit, is as well qualified as any Judas of them all,

* This is an unhandsome, and, I doubt not, a false insinuation, that the recommendations of Charles Lily, the toyman, which repeatedly occur throughout the Tatler, were not gratuitous, and that Lily himself made an infamous use of the popularity he acquired.

to betray his friend, his benefactress, or his sovereign, if you bait with a bribe considerable enough to reach his conscience: and he may very well be careless what ideas are affixed to the letters of his name, when it is impossible for the worst to sully him.

I have dwelt the longer, sir, upon Mr Steele's character, because it seems to be the main argument at present; Dunkirk is now *demolishing*, and the *importance* of no consideration; and I beg leave only to make a remark or two upon the Englishman, which may serve to confirm what I have already hinted.

He assumes at first the name of an Englishman, in a burlesque manner, as if the character and charge of a man of experience, and a patriot, was matter of comedy and ridicule. It may, indeed, sir, as he manages it; but methinks, every Englishman ought to have understood himself and his country better, than to abuse the only man who, if any one deserves that title, has proved himself more an Englishman, than any minister who has went before him. We all of us, sir, are sensible of the happy influence of his counsel, who has rescued our constitution out of such hands, as engrossed the monarchy to themselves, and plundered its revenue; as exposed the wealth of our nation to the depredations of foreigners, and the scorn and derision of its confederates.

But these incongruities are pardonable, if we consider him as a Frenchman, a Dutchman lately naturalized, or an acquaintance of Mr Steele's; and he may be allowed to publish a letter from himself to a certain peer, complaining of his footman, and calling him such names he learned formerly in footmen's company. Neither is it at all surprising, he should fancy it incompatible with

the character of a statesman, to laugh or whisper, or writhe his head; or that my lord's footman appeared the worst man that ever had the education of a gentleman. I refer you, sir, to the Englishman at large, and beseech you to read with attention, and not throw it aside before you have read it over.

Mr Steele, in short, has neither an head, nor a style, for politics; there is no one political Englishman but contains either some notorious blunder in his notions, or his language; and he seems himself so aware of this, that he is already run from his purpose. I should be glad to find any signs of conversion in him; and I could wish he would follow the example of Midas, who, after the transformation of his ears, was ashamed, and endeavoured to cover his ignominy from the world.

If I might advise him, I should think it his best way to retire into Wales,* and live upon his estate; for by these means he may keep his circumstances within bounds; and when his head is cool, and purged of his politics, he may now and then revisit and divert the town, by publishing the works of his friends, and retrieve the little reputation he had gained by them. Whatever hopes the party may have given him, or whatever promises they have made, he may depend upon it they will never answer: he will prove their cully and their tool, and ruined in the end; and, if he persists in his purpose, I dare engage, if I can be sure of any thing in futurity, that I shall live to see him in jail, or under the hands of Longbot-

* Steele at length took this advice, and died in retirement at Hereford.

tom, in Bedlam; and his works exposed in that neighbourhood, for years together, to the inclemency of the seasons. I know not, I must confess, whether his misfortunes will deserve our pity. Such a fate will be the genuine product of his indiscretion and ill principles, and his stupidity a curse upon his ingratitude.

Neither Mr Baker, Mrs Baldwin, or any other English publisher, ever obtained so great a character as the person we have been speaking of, or received more encouragement from people of condition; and it would have been as much a crime, but a little time since, to have spoken against him, as now it is to speak for him. Some historians have observed, that Alexander was as fortunate in his death, as in any action of his life; he died soon after he had subdued the world, nor lived to hazard the glory he had gained, in any rebellion that might have been formed against him. How happy had it been for our politician had he died in such a manner! had he followed his friend Sir Roger, soon after he published his death, and left no Guardians, no Englishmen, behind him, as the monuments of his ignorance and indiscretion!

I have subjoined, sir, a few paragraphs, by way of postscript, from those papers, that you may make a judgment of his style: I will engage there is scarce any of his compositions, out of which I cannot pick some sentences of false grammar or inconsistency. How honourable soever, or praise-worthy, the ancients thought it to die for their country, I never knew a man was obliged to talk nonsense in defence of it. Abusive language and fustian are as unfair in controversy, as poisoned arrows or chewed bullets in a battle; and he deserves indeed to be thought an English-

man, who is ignorant of the English language ! Indolence, attitude, public spirit, liberal education, and benevolence, with a thousand other expressions, are cant and nonsense when applied too often, and upon all occasions ; and it is supposed, a certain scribbler can no more write without these words, than a certain bishop can preach when his hands are tied behind him.

I see, sir, in the advertisements, that Mr Steele is about to publish, by subscription, a Treatise justifying the Revolution, and in favour of the Hanover Succession. I could wish his subscribers would weigh the consequence of such an undertaking, or the government suppress it. I know no greater injury that can be done to that illustrious house, than by employing such a pen in their service ; and it may be accounted the peculiar happiness of her majesty, and the present ministry, that Mr Steele has been hired to write against them. A man who is so good a lawyer, and knows the constitution of Great Britain so very well, as to tell us, that, as a member and in the house, he is accountable to no man, but the greatest man in England is accountable to him, cannot chuse but descant very prettily upon subjects as require all the nicety of the common and civil law.

I beg your pardon, sir, for detaining you so long : the world, perhaps, will expect, that after I have said so much of my antagonist, I should say something of myself ; and, as I am neither ashamed of my name or my face, I shall oblige them with my picture, as my brother has done before me.* I have the honour, you know, to be

* Toby, as we learn from " Noble's Continuation of Granger," had his effigy engraved in a separate print with that of his master

a member with him of the same society of Short Faces, and we differ very little in the lineaments of our visage, notwithstanding we disagree in our opinions. My pen, I thank God, has never yet been employed in the defence of faction, or to insult my queen; and whenever it is, I desire to have as ill a character as the author of the Importance.* As to my abilities, however mean, I dare engage to write upon any subject with my celebrated brother, upon this condition, that we may be turned into a room by ourselves, with pen, ink, and paper, without books, or the assistance of Mr Ridpath on the one side, or my uncle Abel on the other.†

I am, sir, &c.

TOBY.

Will's Coffee-house, Oct. 27th.

Abel Roper. But although Mr Noble seems to have been aware of the existence of the head alluded to in the text, the pamphlet to which it is prefixed escaped his researches. See Vol. ii. p. 393. The engraving presents a stupid countenance, adorned with a long cravat, and calculated to enhance, by its absurdity, the burlesque solemnity of the pamphlet.

* "The Importance of Dunkirk considered," one of Steele's pamphlets.

† Ridpath, editor of the Flying Post, conducted the blackguard warfare of party scandal on the part of the Whigs, and Abel Roper, (the uncle of Toby, alias Edward King,) was the champion of the Tories.

POSTSCRIPT.

IMPORTANCE, PAGE 21.

“**M**ONSIEUR Tugghe supposes us to a most notorious degree ignorant of common geography, when he asserts, That Dunkirk is the only port from Ostend westward by which commodities can be brought into the provinces of the Austrian Low Countries, and Germany. There runs from Calais a navigable river to Graveling, the river of Graveling runs to St Omer, from the east side of this river runs two canals, one through Bourbourg to Dunkirk, the other directly to Winoxberg. There is a canal, &c.”

REMARK.—These observations, as Mr Steele insinuates, are something above common geography, communicated, if the truth was known, by the very man who has discovered the longitude, and are a confirmation of the English adage, that the farthest way about is the nearest way home. My good friend, Mr Tonson, was arguing in this manner the other day at his shop, when I told him I could not get through Temple-bar into Fleet-street, because the gate was shut: it would be well, says he, if that way was always stopped, there is a shorter cut for all passengers; for, there runs from the Strand a street called Catherine-street, and at the end of that street is another

which runs to Drury-lane, and at the end of Drury-lane are two ways, one by St Giles's church on the left, and the other down Holborn on the right; a little below the Black-Swan in Holborn you turn down Fetter-lane, which leads you directly into Fleet-street.

IMPORTANCE, PAGE 32.

“ When such was our case, and such is our case, men lately preferred, and grown too delicate, would have men of liberal education, that know the world, as well as themselves, afraid for fear of offending them in their new cloaths, to speak when they think their queen and country is ill-treated.”

REMARK.—This sentence is scarcely intelligible without inquiring what a man of liberal education is. Now a man of liberal education, according to Mr Steele's acceptation of that word, is, one of mean parentage, who was bred at school till he could almost construe Latin, and has since improved himself in the knowledge of the world, by riding in the guards, by conversing with porters, carmen, foot-soldiers, players, bullies, bawds, pimps, and whores of all sorts and sizes: who has been arrested for the maintenance of his bastards, and afterwards printed a proposal that the public should take care of them. One who has no invention, no judgment, no style, no politics, no gratitude, and no honesty. In short, a man of liberal education is one, who, after he knows he is all this, has the impudence to say, that as to his morals, if there was any thing very flagrant, he has friends enough in town who would oblige the world with them.

It is observable, notwithstanding Dr Walker so often flogged our author, when he was at school, for false grammar, he continues to affront Lilly almost in every word, viz. "men of liberal education that know" — "his queen and country is ill treated—;" "if there is any thing very flagrant, oblige the world with them." This is also a characteristic of a man of liberal education !

ENGLISHMAN, NO. III.

"The king of England is no other than a very good man vested with all the opportunities, and tied down by the most solemn oath to be such, in the most eminent manner that all the power that ought to attend human nature can enable him."

REMARK.—Though the interpretation of this paragraph may be plain to the present age, yet lest Mr Steele, who, I am sure, designs his works shall be delivered down to posterity, should hereafter be misunderstood, it may not be unnecessary to give them to understand, that this phraseology is adapted to the peculiar way of thinking of the finest wits amongst us, and may sometimes be understood in quite a different acceptation from what the words import, and is sometimes of no signification at all, but intended as a bite upon the reader. I have no leisure at present to describe what a sort of creature a man is, who is "vested with opportunities," or the essence of that "power, which ought to attend human nature in the most eminent manner." It is sufficient that our author has a meaning in these words, but affects a mysterious way of speaking like the oracles of old, in

order to preserve the majesty of his ideas from the prophanation of the vulgar; and it is a thousand pities that such an admirable talent at riddles and ænigmas should be thrown away to no purpose, which might prove of most prodigious emolument, could Mr Steele reconcile himself to Dr Partridge, and obtain the liberty of publishing them as an Appendix to his Almanack.

ENGLISHMAN, NO. V.

“The earth we see is visited all around; in some parts of the world men are seized with a contagion of their bodies, in others with the infatuation of their minds. This is a plain observation, and grows into the common sense of mankind; and this seasonable querist will find to his confusion, that this glorious spot of liberty will no more be imposed upon by general suggestions and insinuations against its true welfare and interest. It is come to that, that people must prove what they say, if they would be believed.”

REMARK.—How happy is Mr Steele in his transitions! Connexion has been believed a necessary ingredient of good writing; but he has shewn a new way, and how to arrive to be an author without coherence. In the beginning of the passages before us, he gives us a sketch of the terrible, then he descends to consider the laws of vegetation, and shews how a plain observation “grows into the common sense of mankind;” and from both these considerations together, very fairly concludes, that a “glorious spot of liberty” can never be imposed upon by suggestions against its true interest; and after this clenches the sense of

the whole, by telling us of an hardship put upon the writers of this age: "it is come to that," says he, "that people must prove what they say, if they would be believed." These Mr Steele may call new conceptions very properly: every rustic can draw consequences, and make what the logicians call a natural syllogism; but none but so refined a reasoner and a critic can hit the unintelligible. Had the Examiner talked in this manner, he might have been justly said to go on in a serene exuberance of something neither good nor bad. "A man," says Mr Steele of that author, "may go on in writing such stuff as this to his life's end, without ever troubling himself for any new conception, or putting the imagination or judgment to the least labour. There will be no danger of his wanting store of absurdities, and I allow he can dress them up in tolerable language, and with a seeming coherence."

ENGLISHMAN, NO. V.

"And all, as one man, will join in a common indignation against all, who would perplex our obedience."

REMARK.—Whatever contradiction there is, as some suppose, in *all* joining against *all*, our author has good authority for what he says, and, considering he means well, I think myself obliged to defend him in this particular. How *all* "joining in a common indignation," will be construed, I cannot well determine; but certainly it may be proved in spite of Euclid or Sir Isaac, that every thing consists of two *alls*, that these *alls* are capable of being divided and subdivided into as

many *alls* as you please, and so *in infinitum*. The following lines may serve for an illustration of this matter :

Three children sliding on the ice
Upon a summer's day,
As it fell out they *all* fell in,
The *rest*—they ran away.

Though this polite author does not directly say, there are two *alls*, yet he implies as much ; for I would ask any reasonable man what can be understood by *the rest* they ran away, but the other *all* we have been speaking of? I have considered Mr Steele in this view, that the world should not think I have so much malice against him, but that I can exhibit the beauties, as well as quarrel with the faults of his compositions ; and I hope for the future, for his own sake, and to avoid an uncorrect way of writing, he will not value himself upon his hasty productions, because he can write a paper in a passion, and rejoin upon the Examiner in less than a day's time ; but that the admonition of his friend Sir Marmaduke to his coachman will be his constant rule—John, remember I am never in haste.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In a letter I have received from Mr Longbottom, that gentleman informs me, he is making a curious collection of all the rarities, both of matter and language, throughout the works of the ingenious Captain Steele, with a true copy of Mr Steele's letter to the collar-maker's wife of Stockbridge, and her answers, the originals being both under his custody, and to be perused at his shop

near Charing-Cross. He has already, he tells me, extracted several words contributing to a smooth style, flowers of rhetoric, smart sentences, and knock-down arguments. In the latter end of his letter, he makes some observations upon what he calls knock-down arguments, and gives a specimen how the repetition of divers words may be looked upon as a full answer to all the arguments contained in them; and this, that ingenious anti-demolisher of the countenance terms "perstringing the controversy," or "spitting his adversary's words into his mouth." His instances are as follow.

"After having with the greatest fluency, gravity and earnestness imaginable, spoken unintelligibly against me, uttering the words, Ghent, Bruges, Transito, Insulting; he at last—

So again,

"He runs on with my name among the words, whig, politician, cross purposes, book slavery, shamming and bantering."

As this work may be of vast improvement to the English language, Mr Longbottom assures me he designs to print it upon the same paper and character with Mr Steele's, and that subscriptions will be shortly taken in at Mr Buckley's.*

* The publisher of the Crisis.

LAW IS A BOTTOMLESS PIT;

OR, THE

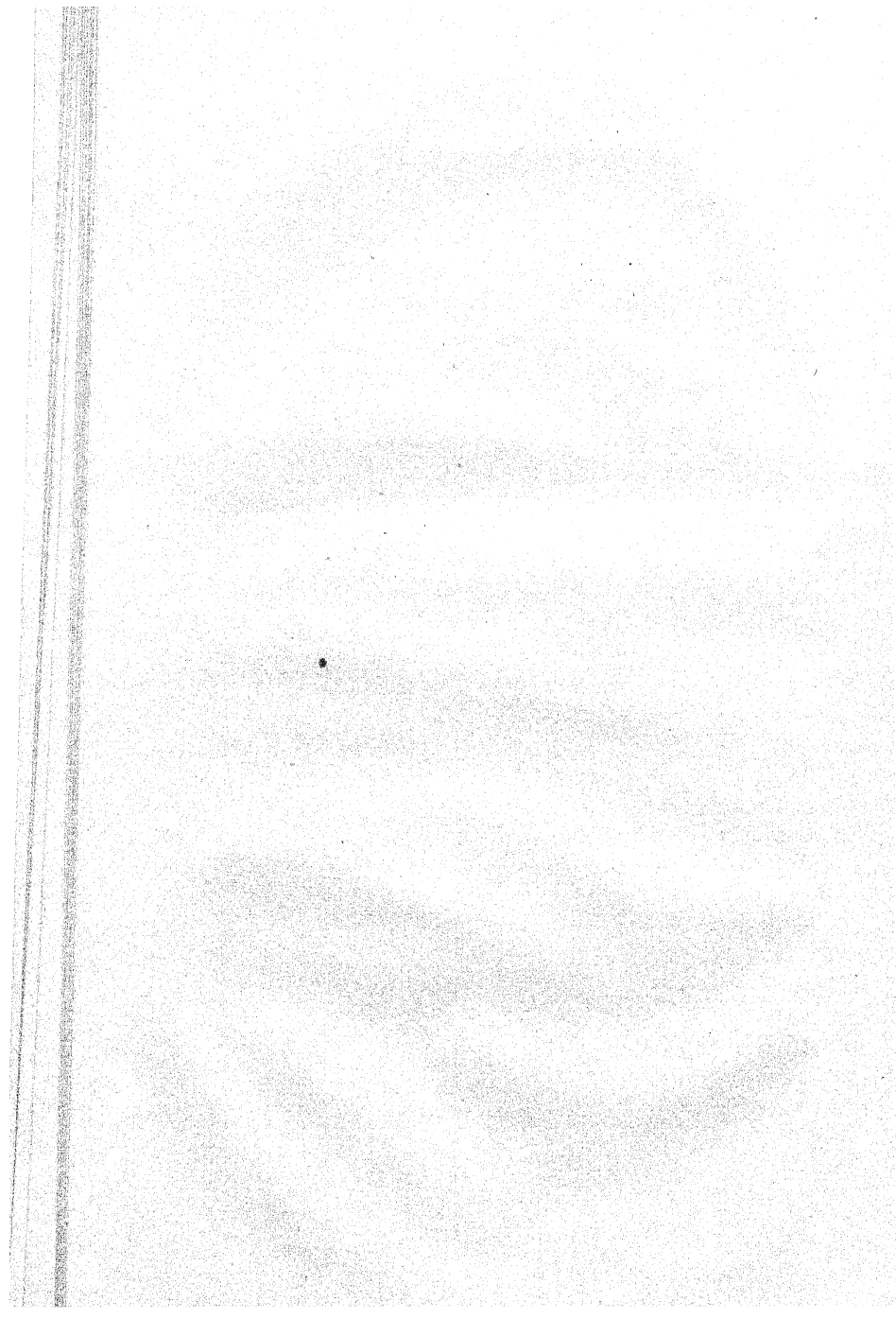
HISTORY

OF

JOHN BULL.

PUBLISHED FROM

A MANUSCRIPT FOUND IN THE CABINET OF THE FAMOUS
SIR H. POLESWORTH, IN THE YEAR 1712.



HISTORY OF JOHN BULL.

AMONG the pieces usually published in Swift's works, of which he is not the author, there is none which can bear comparison with the "History of John Bull." It is not only a satire original in its outline, but the exquisite simplicity, brevity, and solemnity of the narrative, is altogether inimitable. If our author's Tale of a Tub be considered as the prototype of John Bull, it may be allowed to contain a greater display of learning, but is certainly deficient in the unaffected and ludicrous simplicity of the latter satire.

Dr Arbuthnot, author of this excellent *jeu d'esprit*, is well known as the intimate and confidential friend of Swift, Pope, and Gay. With the disadvantage of northern birth and education, he wrote a pure English style, although it may be remarked that he sometimes calls in the aid of national idiom, where he conceives it will add force to his picture. Lewis Baboon is for example termed a "false loon," and the whole character, conduct, and language of Sister Peg is traced with a Scottish pencil.

The History of John Bull came originally forth in four parts, with an Appendix. It was afterwards corrected, revised, and arranged, with some few alterations. The following are the original titles.

"Law is a Bottomless Pit, exemplified in the case of the Lord Strut, John Bull, Nicholas Frog, and Lewis Baboon: who spent all they had in a law-suit.—Printed from a manuscript found in the cabinet of the famous Sir Humphrey Polesworth."

"John Bull in his Senses: being the Second Part of Law is a Bottomless Pit.—Printed from a manuscript found in the cabinet of the famous Sir Humphrey Polesworth."

"John Bull in his Senses: being the Third Part of Law is a Bottomless Pit.—Printed from a manuscript found in the cabinet of the famous Sir Humphrey Polesworth; and published (as well as the two former parts) by the author of the New Atalantis."

"An Appendix to John Bull still in his Senses; or Law is a Bottomless Pit.—Printed from a manuscript found in the cabinet of the famous Sir Humphrey Polesworth; and published (as well as the three former parts) by the author of the New Atalantis."

"Lewis Baboon turned Honest, and John Bull, Politician: being the Fourth Part of Law is a Bottomless Pit.—Printed from a manuscript found in the cabinet of the famous Sir Humphrey Polesworth: and published (as well as the three former parts and Appendix) by the author of the *New Atalantis*." It was repeatedly reprinted, and at length, with some alterations and notes, inserted in the *Miscellany* compiled by Pope, Swift, Gay, and Arbuthnot.

The effect of this satire was wonderful. It was adapted in point of style to the meanest capacity; yet the ingenuity of the allusions, and the comic humour of the expressions, delighted the best informed. The structure of the piece was also admirably calculated to attain the desired end. It was scarce possible so effectually to dim the lustre of Marlborough's splendid achievements as by parodying them under the history of a suit conducted by a wily attorney, who made every advantage gained over the defendant, a reason for protracting law procedure, and enhancing the expence of his client. By this representation of the war, the public mind was swayed from consideration of its brilliant success, and instructed to regard it as a mere matter of profit and loss, in which the general and the Dutch were the gainers, while all expences fell upon the British.

The same parable was continued after the accession of the House of Hanover. But this supplement is so far inferior to the original as to excite some question whether it be actually the composition of Arbuthnot. All later imitations have been equally unsuccessful, excepting that entitled the "*History of Sister Peg*," assigned by public fame to an eminent and venerable literary character still living. This last satire equals in every respect the history of which it is a professed imitation.

THE
HISTORY
OF
JOHN BULL.

CHAP. I.

The Occasion of the Lawsuit.

I NEED not tell you of the great quarrels that have happened in our neighbourhood since the death of the late Lord Strutt;* how the parson, and a cunning attorney, got him to settle his estate upon his cousin Philip Baboon, to the great disappointment of his cousin esquire South.† Some stick not to say, that the parson and the attorney forged a will, for which they were well paid by the family of the Baboons: let that be as it will, it is matter of fact, that the honour and estate have continued ever since in the person of Philip Baboon.

* Charles II. of Spain died without issue.

† Cardinal Portocarero and the marshal of Harcourt, employed, as is supposed, by the House of Bourbon, prevailed upon him to make a will, by which he settled the succession of the Spanish monarchy upon Philip of Bourbon, Duke of Anjou, though his right had by solemn renunciation been barred in favour of the Archduke Charles of Austria.

You know, that the Lord Strutts have for many years been possessed of a very great landed estate, well-conditioned, wooded, watered, with coal, salt, tin, copper, iron, &c. all within themselves; that it has been the misfortune of that family to be the property of their stewards, tradesmen, and inferior servants, which has brought great incumbrances upon them; at the same time, their not abating of their expensive way of living has forced them to mortgage their best manors: it is credibly reported, that the butchers and bakers bill of a Lord Strutt, that lived two hundred years ago, are not yet paid.

When Philip Baboon came first to the possession of Lord Strutt's estate, his tradesmen, as is usual upon such occasions, waited upon him to wish him joy and bespeak his custom: the two chief were John Bull* the clothier, and Nic. Frog† the linen-draper: they told him, that the Bulls and Frogs had served the Lord Strutts with drapery-ware for many years; that they were honest and fair dealers; that their bills had never been questioned; that the Lord Strutts lived generously, and never used to dirty their fingers with pen, ink, and counters; that his lordship might depend upon their honesty; that they would use him as kindly, as they had done his predecessors. The young lord seemed to take all

* The King of England and the States of Holland reluctantly acknowledged the new Spanish monarch, the former being embarrassed by the contentions of the Whigs and Tories, and the latter over-awed by the Spanish and French forces assembled in the Netherlands.

† Both these nations endeavoured to obtain from Spain commercial advantages, as a composition for their not insisting on the treaty of partition.

in good part, and dismissed them with a deal of seeming content, assuring them he did not intend to change any of the honourable maxims of his predecessors.

CHAP. II.

*How Bull and Frog grew jealous, that the Lord Strutt intended to give all his custom to his grandfather Lewis Baboon.**

It happened unfortunately for the peace of our neighbourhood, that this young lord had an old cunning rogue, or (as the Scots call it) *a false loon*, of a grandfather, that one might justly call a jack of all trades; † sometimes you would see him behind his counter selling broad-cloth, sometimes measuring linen; next day he would be dealing in mercery-ware: high heads, ribbands, gloves, fans, and lace, he understood to a nicety; Charles Mather could not bubble a young beau better with a toy: nay, he would descend even to the selling of tape, garters, and shoebuckles; when shop was shut up, he would go about the neighbourhood, and earn half-a-crown by teaching the young men and maids to dance. By these methods he had acquired immense riches, which he used to squander away at back-sword, quarter-staff, and cudgel-play, in which he took great

* Lewis the XIV.

† The trade and character of the French nation are thus described.

pleasure, and challenged all the country. You will say it is no wonder if Bull and Frog should be jealous of this fellow. "It is not impossible," says Frog to Bull, "but this old rogue will take the management of the young lord's business into his hands; besides the rascal has good ware, and will serve him as cheap as any body. In that case, I leave you to judge what must become of us and our families; we must starve, or turn journeymen to old Lewis Baboon; therefore, neighbour, I hold it advisable, that we write to young Lord Strutt to know the bottom of this matter."

CHAP. III.

A copy of Bull and Frog's Letter to Lord Strutt.

MY LORD,

I SUPPOSE your lordship knows, that the Bulls and the Frogs have served the Lord Strutt with all sorts of drapery-ware time out of mind: and whereas we are jealous, not without reason, that your lordship intends henceforth to buy of your grandsire old Lewis Baboon; this is to inform your lordship, that this proceeding does not suit with the circumstances of our families, who have lived and made a good figure in the world by the generosity of the Lord Strutt. Therefore we think fit to acquaint your lordship, that you must find sufficient security to us,* our heirs and assigns, that

* Mr Stanhope and the Ministers of the States General demanded from those of France and Spain as security for the peace

you will not employ Lewis Baboon; or else we will take our remedy at law, clap an action upon you of 20,000*l.* for old debts, seize and distrain your goods and chattels, which, considering your lordship's circumstances, will plunge you into difficulties, from which it will not be easy to extricate yourself; therefore we hope, when your lordship has better considered on it, you will comply with the desire of

Your loving friends,

JOHN BULL,
NIC. FROG.

Some of Bull's friends advised him to take gentler methods with the young lord; but John naturally loved rough play. It is impossible to express the surprise of the Lord Strutt upon the receipt of this letter; he was not flush in ready either to go to law, or clear old debts, neither could he find good bail; he offered to bring matters to a friendly accommodation; and promised upon his word of honour, that he would not change his drapers; * but all to no purpose, for Bull and Frog saw clearly that old Lewis would have the cheating of him.

of Europe, that Ostend and Nieuport should be delivered up to the English, and that the British subjects should not only enjoy all their former privileges in Spain, but be admitted to a participation of all such as might be either actually possessed by those of France, or hereafter extended to them. It was further proposed, that no part of the dominions of Spain should ever be united to France, and finally that this treaty should be guaranteed by all the powers of Europe who would accede to the same.

* The French and Spanish ministers expressed astonishment at the exorbitance of the demands made upon them, and refused to give any other security for the peace of Europe than a renewal of the treaty of Ryswick.

CHAP. IV.

How Bull and Frog went to law with Lord Strutt about the premises, and were joined by the rest of the tradesmen.

ALL endeavours of accommodation between Lord Strutt and his drapers proved vain; jealousies increased, and indeed it was rumoured abroad, that Lord Strutt had bespoke his new liveries of old Lewis Baboon.* This coming to Mrs Bull's ears, when John Bull came home, he found all his family in an uproar. Mrs Bull, you must know, was very apt to be choleric. "You sot," says she, "you loiter about alehouses and taverns, spend your time at billiards, ninepins, or puppet-shows, or flaunt about the streets in your new gilt chariot, never minding me nor your numerous family. Don't you hear how Lord Strutt has bespoke his liveries at Lewis Baboon's shop? Don't you see how that old fox steals away your customers, and turns you out of your business every day, and you sit like an idle drone with your hands in your pockets? Fie upon it! up man, rouse thyself; I'll sell to my shift, before I'll be so used by that knave."† You must think Mrs Bull had been

* France, in order to avail herself of the advantages to be derived from an intimate union with Spain, established a company to trade with Mexico and Peru, and concluded a new Assiento treaty for supplying South America with negroes. These commercial advantages are intimated by the Strutts purchasing new liveries of Baboon.

† The whole nation of England became clamorous for war, but especially the parliament, who voted unanimous addresses for

pretty well tuned up by Frog, who chimed in with her learned harangue. No farther delay now, but to council learned in the law they go, who unanimously assured them both of the justice and infallible success of their lawsuit.

I told you before, that old Lewis Baboon was a sort of a jack of all trades; which made the rest of the tradesmen jealous, as well as Bull and Frog; they hearing of the quarrel, were glad of an opportunity of joining against old Lewis Baboon, provided that Bull and Frog would bear the charges of the suit; even lying Ned, the chimney-sweeper of Savoy,* and Tom, the Portugal dustman,† put in their claims; and the cause was put into the hands of Humphry Hocus the attorney.‡

A declaration was drawn up to show, "that Bull and Frog had undoubted right by prescription to be drapers to the Lord Strutts; that there were several old contracts to that purpose; that Lewis Baboon had taken up the trade of clothier and draper, without serving his time or purchasing his freedom; that he sold goods that were not marketable, without the stamp; that he himself was more fit for a bully than a tradesman, and went about through all the country fairs, challenging people to fight prizes, wrestling, and cudgel-play;" § and abundance more to this purpose.

reducing the power of France, and promised liberal supplies for carrying on the war.

* The Duke of Savoy.

† The King of Portugal.

‡ John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, was appointed general in chief of the confederate army.

§ The allies published manifestoes charging Louis XIV. with

CHAP. V.

The true character of John Bull, Nic. Frog, and Hocus.

FOR the better understanding the following history, the reader ought to know, that Bull, in the main, was an honest plain-dealing fellow, choleric, bold, and of a very unconstant temper; he dreaded not old Lewis, either at back-sword, single falchion, or cudgel-play; but then he was very apt to quarrel with his best friends, especially if they pretended to govern him: if you flattered him, you might lead him like a child. John's temper depended very much upon the air; his spirits rose and fell with the weather-glass. John was quick, and understood his business very well; but no man alive was more careless in looking into his accounts, or more cheated by partners, apprentices, and servants. This was occasioned by his being a boon companion, loving his bottle and his diversion; for, to say truth, no man kept a better house than John, nor spent his money more generously. By plain and fair dealing, John had acquired some plums, and might have kept them, had it not been for his unhappy law-suit.

Nic. Frog was a cunning, sly whoreson, quite the reverse of John in many particulars; covetous, frugal; minded domestic affairs; would pinch his belly to save his pocket; never lost a farthing

breach of the treaty of Ryswick, with denying to the States the benefit of a Tariff, in terms of that engagement, and with various arbitrary encroachments upon the liberties of Europe,

by careless servants, or bad debtors. He did not care much for any sort of diversions, except tricks of High German artists, and *leger-de-main*: no man exceeded Nic. in these; yet it must be owned, that Nic. was a fair dealer, and in that way acquired immense riches.

Hocus was an old cunning attorney; and though this was the first considerable suit that ever he was engaged in, he shewed himself superior in his address to most of his profession; he kept always good clerks,* he loved money, was smooth-tongued, gave good words, and seldom lost his temper: he was not worse than an infidel, for he provided plentifully for his family; but he loved himself better than them all; the neighbours reported, that he was henpecked: which was impossible by such a mild-spirited woman as his wife was.†

CHAP. VI.

Of the various Success of the Lawsuit.

LAW is a bottomless pit; it is a cormorant, a harpy, that devours every thing. John Bull was flattered by the lawyers, that his suit would not last above a year or two at most; that before that time he would be in quiet possession of his business: yet ten long years did Hocus steer his cause through all the meanders of the law, and all the courts. No skill, no address was wanting; and,

* Good officers.

† The celebrated Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough,

to say truth, John did not starve his cause : there wanted not yellow-boys to fee counsel, hire witnesses, and bribe juries : Lord Strutt was generally cast, never had one verdict in his favour ; and John was promised that the next, and the next, would be the final determination :* but alas ! that final determination and happy conclusion was like an enchanted island, the nearer John came to it, the farther it went from him : new trials upon new points still arose ; new doubts, new matters to be cleared ; in short, lawyers seldom part with so good a cause, till they have got the oyster, and the clients the shell. John's ready money, book-debts, bonds, mortgages, all went into the lawyers pockets : then John began to borrow money upon Bank-stock and East-India bonds : † now and then a farm went to pot : at last it was thought a good expedient to set up esquire South's title, to prove the will forged, and dispossess Philip Lord Strutt at once. ‡ Here again was a new field for the lawyers, and the cause grew more intricate than ever. John grew madder and madder ; wherever he met any of Lord Strutt's servants, he tore off their clothes : now and then you would see them come home naked, without shoes, stockings, and linen. As for old

* The war was carried on against France and Spain with great success, and a peace might have been concluded upon the principles of the alliance ; but a partition of the Spanish dominions in favour of the House of Austria, and an engagement that the same person should never be King of France and Spain, were not now thought sufficient.

† Recourse was had to the funding system, in order to raise supplies for carrying on the war.

‡ It was insisted, that the will in favour of Philip was contrary to treaty ; and there was a parliamentary declaration for continuing the war, till he should be dethroned.

Lewis Baboon, he was reduced to his last shift, though he had as many as any other : his children were reduced from rich silks to Doily stuffs, his servants in rags, and bare-footed : instead of good victuals, they now lived upon neck-beef, and bullock's liver : in short, nobody got much by the matter, but the men of law.

CHAP. VII.

How John Bull was so mightily pleased with his success, that he was going to leave off his Trade, and turn Lawyer.

It is wisely observed by a great philosopher, that habit is a second nature : this was verified in the case of John Bull, who, from an honest and plain tradesman, had got such a haunt about the courts of justice, and such a jargon of law-words, that he concluded himself as able a lawyer as any that pleaded at the bar, or sat on the bench : he was overheard one day talking to himself after this manner : * “ How capriciously does fate or chance dispose of mankind ? How seldom is that business allotted to a man, for which he is fitted by nature ? It is plain, I was intended for a man of law : how did my guardians mistake my genius, in placing me, like a mean slave, behind the coun-

* The manners and sentiments of the nation became extravagant and chimerical, and began, from the successes of the Duke of Marlborough, to assume a military character, rather inconsistent with the commercial interests of England.

ter? Bless me! what immense estates these fellows raise by the law? Besides, it is the profession of a gentleman. What a pleasure is it to be victorious in a cause? to swagger at the bar? What a fool am I to drudge any more in this woollen trade? for a lawyer I was born, and a lawyer I will be; one is never too old to learn." All this while John had conned over such a catalogue of hard words, as were enough to conjure up the devil; this he used to babble indifferently in all companies, especially at coffee-houses; so that his neighbour tradesmen began to shun his company, as a man that was cracked. Instead of the affairs of Blackwell-hall, and the price of broad cloth, wool, and baizes, he talks of nothing but actions upon the case, returns, *capias*, alias *capias*, demurrers, *venire facias*, *replevins*, *superseedeases*, *certioraris*, writs of error, actions of *trover* and *conversion*, *trespasses*, *precipes* and *dedimus*. This was matter of jest to the learned in law; however, Hocus, and the rest of the tribe, encouraged John in his fancy, assuring him, that he had a great genius for law; that they questioned not, but in time he might raise money enough by it to reimburse him all his charges; that if he studied, he would undoubtedly arrive to the dignity of a lord chief justice: * as for the advice of honest friends and neighbours, John despised it; he looked upon them as fellows of a low genius, poor grovelling mechanics; John reckoned it more honour to have got one favourable verdict, than to have sold a bale of broad cloth. As for Nic. Frog, to say the truth, he was more prudent; for though he followed his lawsuit

* Hold the balance of power,

closely, he neglected not his ordinary business, but was both in court and in his shop at the proper hours.

CHAP. VIII.

How John discovered that Hocus had an intrigue with his wife; and what followed thereupon.

JOHN had not run on a madding so long, had it not been for an extravagant bitch of a wife, whom Hocus perceiving John to be fond of, was resolved to win over to his side. It is a true saying, "that the last man of the parish, that knows of his cuckoldom, is himself." It was observed by all the neighbourhood, that Hocus had dealings with John's wife,* that were not so much for his honour; but this was perceived by John a little too late; she was a luxurious jade, loved splendid equipages, plays, treats, and balls, differing very much from the sober manners of her ancestors, and by no means fit for a tradesman's wife. Hocus fed her extravagancy (what was still more shameful) with John's own money. Every body said, that Hocus had a month's mind to her body; be that as it will, it is matter of fact, that upon all occasions she run out extravagantly on the praise of Hocus.† When John used to be finding fault with his bills, she used to re-

* It was believed that the general tampered with the parliament.

† Repeated votes of thanks to the Duke of Marlborough.

proach him as ungrateful to his greatest benefactor; one that had taken so much pains in his lawsuit, and retrieved his family from the oppression of old Lewis Baboon. A good swingeing sum of John's readiest cash went toward building of Hocus's country-house.* This affair between Hocus and Mrs Bull was now so open, that all the world were scandalised at it; John was not so clodpated but at last he took the hint. The parson of the parish preaching one day with more zeal than sense against adultery, † Mrs Bull told her husband, that he was a very uncivil fellow to use such coarse language before people of condition; that Hocus was of the same mind; and that they would join to have him turned out of his living, for using personal reflections. ‡ How do you mean, says John, by personal reflections? I hope in God, wife, he did not reflect upon you? "No, thank God, my reputation is too well established in the world, to receive any hurt from such a foul-mouthed scoundrel as he; his doctrine tends only to make husbands tyrants, and wives slaves; §

* Parliament settled upon the Duke of Marlborough the manor of Woodstock, and afterwards entailed that with 5000*l.* *per annum*, payable out of the post-office, to descend with his honours; over and above this, an immense sum was expended in building Blenheim-house.

† Dr Henry Sacheverell preached a sermon against popular resistance of regal authority. Although the Tory Ministry was formed in consequence of the ferment raised by this silly tool, the eminent writers of their party seldom mention him but with contempt.

‡ The house of commons voted this sermon a libel on her majesty and her government, the revolution, the protestant succession, and the parliament: they impeached him of high crimes and misdemeanours; he was silenced for three years, and the sermon burnt by the hangman.

§ Alluding to Sacheverell's doctrine of passive obedience.

must we be shut up, and husbands left to their liberty? Very pretty indeed! A wife must never go abroad with a Platonic to see a play or a ball: she must never stir without her husband, nor walk in Spring-garden with a cousin. I do say, husband, and I will stand by it, that without the innocent freedoms of life, matrimony would be a most intolerable state; and that a wife's virtue ought to be the result of her own reason, and not of her husband's government; for my part, I would scorn a husband that would be jealous, if he saw a fellow a bed with me."* All this while John's blood boiled in his veins: he was now confirmed in all his suspicions; jade, bitch, and whore were the best words that John gave her.† Things went from better to worse, till Mrs Bull aimed a knife‡ at John, though John threw a bottle|| at her head, very brutally indeed: and after this there was nothing but confusion; bottles, glasses, spoons, plates, knives, forks, and dishes flew about like dust;§ the result of which was, that Mrs Bull received a bruise¶ in her right side, of which she died half a year after. The bruise imposthumated, and afterward turned to a stinking ulcer, which made every body shy to come near her; yet she wanted not the help of many able physi-

* These proceedings caused a great ferment in the nation.

† The house complained of being aspersed and vilified; opprobrious terms were used by both parties.

‡ The ministry had recourse to the military power.

|| Various mobs and tumults were excited by the high church party, under pretence of destroying dissenting meeting-houses.

§ The confusion every day increased; the Whig or low church party in the house of commons began to decline.

¶ The parliament was prorogued.

cians, who attended very diligently, and did what men of skill could do: but all to no purpose, for her condition was now quite desperate, all regular physicians, and her nearest relations, having given her over.

CHAP. IX.

How some quacks undertook to cure Mrs Bull of her ulcer.

THERE is nothing so impossible in nature, but mountebanks will undertake; nothing so incredible, but they will affirm: Mrs Bull's condition was looked upon as desperate by all the men of art; but there were those that bragged they had an infallible ointment and plaster, which being applied to the sore, would cure it in a few days; at the same time they would give her a pill, that would purge off all her bad humours, sweeten her blood, and rectify her disturbed imagination. In spite of all applications, the patient grew worse every day; she stunk so, nobody durst come within a stone's throw of her, except those quacks who attended her close, and apprehended no danger. If one asked them, how Mrs Bull did? Better and better, said they; the parts heal, and her constitution mends; if she submits to our government, she will be abroad in a little time. Nay, it is reported, that they wrote to her friends

in the country, that she would dance a jig next October, in Westminster-hall, and that her illness had chiefly been owing to bad physicians. At last, one of them* was sent for in great haste, his patient grew worse and worse: when he came, he affirmed that it was a gross mistake, and that she was never in a fairer way: Bring hither the salve, says he, and give her a plentiful draught of my cordial.† As he was applying his ointments, and administering the cordial, the patient gave up the ghost, to the great confusion of the quack, and the great joy of Bull and his friends. The quack flung away out of the house in great disorder, and swore there was foul play, for he was sure his medicines were infallible. Mrs Bull having died without any signs of repentance or devotion, the clergy would hardly allow her a christian burial. The relations had once resolved to sue John for the murder; but considering better of it, and that such a trial would rip up old sores, and discover things not so much to the reputation of the deceased, they dropped their design. She left no will, only there was found in her strong box the following words wrote on a scrip of paper, "My curse on John Bull, and all my poste-

* In the earlier editions this pharmacopolist is called "Signor Cavallo, an Italian quack," and it is said that he "sent his wife every day to dress her, because she had a very soft hand." But this open allusion to the Duke of Somerset, master of the horse, and to his duchess, was suppressed, probably because disrespectful to the queen.

† Upon the 10th Sept. 1710, the queen came to council, and called for a proclamation for dissolving the parliament, which had been drawn up by Sir Simon Harcourt, afterwards Lord Harcourt. Lord chancellor Cowper rose to make some comment, but was silenced by the queen, who would not admit the subject to be discussed.

rity, if ever they come to any composition with the Lord Strutt."

She left him three daughters, whose names were Polemia, Discordia, and Usuria.*

CHAP. X.

Of John Bull's second wife, and the good advice that she gave him.

JOHN quickly got the better of his grief, and seeing that neither his constitution, or the affairs of his family, could permit him to live in an unmarried state, he resolved to get him another wife; a cousin of his last wife's was proposed, but John would have no more of the breed: in short, he wedded a sober country gentlewoman,† of a good family, and a plentiful fortune, the reverse of the other in her temper; not but that she loved money, for she was saving, and applied her fortune to pay John's clamorous debts, that the unfrugal methods of his last wife, and this ruinous lawsuit, had brought him into. One day, as she had got her husband in a good humour, she talked to him after the following manner:‡
" My dear, since I have been your wife, I have

* War, Faction, and Usury.

† The new parliament was composed of the country party, which was averse to the war.

‡ The house of commons made a representation of the mismanagement in the several offices, particularly those for victualling and clothing the navy and army.

observed great abuses and disorders in your family; your servants are mutinous and quarrelsome and cheat you most abominably; your cook-maid is in a combination with your butcher, poulterer, and fishmonger; your butler purloins your liquor, and the brewer sells you hogwash; your baker cheats both in weight and in tale; even your milk-woman and your nursery-maid have a fellow-feeling: your tailor, instead of shreds, cabbages whole yards of cloth; besides, leaving such long scores, and not going to market with ready-money, forces us to take bad ware of the tradesmen at their own price. You have not posted your books these ten years; how is it possible for a man of business to keep his affairs even in the world at this rate? Pray God this Hocus be honest: would to God you would look over his bills, and see how matters stand between Frog and you: * prodigious sums are spent in this lawsuit, and more must be borrowed of scriveners and usurers at heavy interest. Besides, my dear, let me beg of you to lay aside that wild project of leaving your business to turn lawyer, for which, let me tell you, nature never designed you. Believe me, these rogues do but flatter, that they may pick your pocket; observe what a parcel of hungry ragged fellows live by your cause; to be sure they will never make an end on't: I foresee this haunt you have got about the courts, will one day or other bring your family to beggary. Consider, my dear, how indecent it is to abandon your shop, and follow pettifoggers; the habit is so strong upon you, that there is hardly a plea between two country esquires, about a barren acre upon

* Alluding to the sums that had been expended on the war.

a common, but you draw yourself in as bail, surety, or solicitor.”* John heard her all this while with patience, till she pricked his maggot, and touched him in the tender point; then he broke out into a violent passion, “What, I not fit for a lawyer! Let me tell you, my clodpated relations spoiled the greatest genius in the word, when they bred me a mechanic. Lord Strutt, and his old rogue of a grandsire, have found to their cost, that I can manage a lawsuit as well as another.” “I don’t deny what you say,” replied Mrs Bull, “nor do I call in question your parts; but, I say, it does not suit with your circumstances: you and your predecessors have lived in good reputation among your neighbours by this same clothing trade, and it were madness to leave it off. Besides, there are few that know all the tricks and cheats of these lawyers: does not your own experience teach you, how they have drawn you on from one term to another, and how you have danced the round of all the courts, still flattering you with a final issue, and, for aught I can see, your cause is not a bit clearer than it was seven years ago.” “I will be damn’d,” says John, “if I accept of any composition from Strutt or his grandfather; I’ll rather wheel about the streets an engine to grind knives and scissars; however, I’ll take your advice, and look over my accompts.”†

* The war was still a favourite with the people.

† The Tory ministry found the people disinclined to conclude a war in which the arms of England had been uniformly victorious. Before, therefore, they ventured to hint at a peace, they endeavoured to point out such extravagant expence and imposition in conducting the war, as would lead indirectly to disgust the nation with the conduct of the general, and of the ministers who had managed it.

CHAP. XI.

How John looked over his Attorney's bill.

WHEN John first brought out the bills, the surprise of all the family was inexpressible at the prodigious dimensions of them ; they would have measured with the best bale of cloth in John's shop. Fees to judges, puisne judges, clerks, prothonotaries, filacers, chirographers, under-clerks, proclamators, council, witnesses, jurymen, marshals, tipstuffs, criers, porters ; for enrollings, exemplifications, bails, vouchers, returns, caveats, examinations, filing of writs, entries, declarations, replications, recordats, noli prosequis, certioraris, mittimus, demurrers, special verdicts, informations, scire facias, supersedeas, habeas corpus, coach-hire, treating of witnesses, &c. " Verily," says John, " there are a prodigious number of learned words in this law ; what a pretty science it is ! " " Ay ! but, husband, you have paid for every syllable and letter of these fine words ; bless me what immense sums are at the bottom of the account ! " John spent several weeks in looking over his bills ; and by comparing and stating his accounts, he discovered, that beside the extravagance of every article, he had been egregiously cheated ; that he had paid for council that were never feed, for writs that were never drawn, for dinners that were never dressed, and journies that were never made : in short, that the tradesmen, lawyers, and Frog, had agreed to throw the burden of the lawsuit upon his shoulders.*

* See the Tract entitled " The Conduct of the Allies " *passim*.

CHAP. XII.

*How John grew angry, and resolved to accept a composition; * and what methods were practised by the lawyers for keeping him from it.*

WELL might the learned Daniel Burgess† say, that a lawsuit is a suit for life. He that sows his grain upon marble, will have many a hungry belly before harvest. This John felt by woeful experience. John's cause was a good milch cow,

* When at length peace was thought to be eligible upon more moderate terms, a treaty was entered into.

† This celebrated non-conforming divine was the son of a clergyman at Coltenburn-Ducis, Wilts, where he was born in 1645. Mr Burgess went to Ireland, under the protection of Lord Orrery, the lord president of Munster, where he taught a school at Charleville; but returning to England at the restoration, he became a non-conformist, though not a puritan; for he was as facetious as his merry monarch. His jokes were in the Latimer style, and adapted to the seventeenth century: indeed, a pamphlet might be formed of his puns and jests. Preaching of Job's 'robe of righteousness,' "if," said he, "any of you would have a *suit* for a twelvemonth, let him repair to Monmouth-street; if for his lifetime, let him apply to the Court of Chancery; and, if for all eternity, let him *put on* righteousness." Observing but a small congregation one day, in his sermon, he suddenly called out, "fire! fire!" The affrighted audience exclaimed, "Where? where? where? where?"—"In hell, to burn such wretches as regard not the glad tidings of the gospel." Burgess assigned a curious motive for the Hebrews being called Israelites: "The reason is, because God ever hated Jacobites; and, therefore, Jacob's sons were not so called, but Israelites." His vein of mirth did not forsake him to the last, nor was his waggery confined to the meeting-house. He published many works, a catalogue of which is added to his funeral sermon, from his Golden Snuffers, to his Latin Defence of Non-conformity.—He was buried, Jan. 31, 1723.—*Noble's Continuation of Granger*, Vol. ii. p. 159.

and many a man subsisted his family out of it. However, John began to think it high time to look about him. He had a cousin in the country, one Sir Roger Bold,* whose predecessors had been bred up to the law, and knew as much of it as any body; but having left off the profession for some time, they took great pleasure in compounding lawsuits among their neighbours, for which they were the aversion of the gentlemen of the long robe, and at perpetual war with all the country attorneys. John put his cause in Sir Roger's hands, desiring him to make the best of it: the news had no sooner reached the ears of the lawyers, but they were all in an uproar. They brought all the rest of the tradesmen upon John: 'Squire South swore he was betrayed, that he would starve before he compounded; Frog said he was highly wronged; even lying Ned the chimney-sweeper, and Tom the dustman, complained that their interest was sacrificed.† The lawyers, solicitors, Hocus, and his clerks, were all up in arms, at the news of the composition; they abused him and his wife most shamefully.‡ "You silly, awkward, illbred, country sow, (quoth one) have you no more manners than to rail at Hocus, that has saved that clodpated numskull'd ninnyhammer of yours from ruin, and all his family? It is well known, how he has risen early and sat up late to make him easy, when he was sotting at every alehouse

* Robert Harley, descended from warlike ancestors, though himself of a civil profession, was made treasurer in the stead of Lord Godolphin, and there was now not only a new parliament; but a new ministry.

† The measure was opposed by the allies and the general.

‡ The house of commons was censured as totally ignorant of business.

in town. I knew his last wife; she was a woman of breeding, good humour, and complaisance; knew how to live in the world: as for you, you look like a puppet moved by clockwork: your clothes hang upon you, as they were upon tenter-hooks, and you come into a room as you were going to steal away a piss-pot: get you gone into the country to look after your mother's poultry, to milk the cows, churn the butter, and dress up nosegays for a holiday,* and not meddle with matters, which you know no more of, than the signpost before your door: it is well known, that Hocus had an established reputation; he never swore an oath, nor told a lie in all his life; he is grateful to his benefactors, faithful to his friends, liberal to his dependants, and dutiful to his superiors; he values not your money more than the dust under his feet, but he hates to be abused. Once for all, Mrs Mynx, leave off talking of Hocus, or I will pull out those saucer eyes of yours, and make that red-streak country face look as raw as an ox cheek upon a butcher's stall: remember, I say, that there are pillories and ducking-stools." With this away they flung, leaving Mrs Bull no time to reply. No stone was left unturned to fright John from his composition: sometimes they spread reports at coffee-houses, that John and his wife were run mad; that they intended to give up house, and make over all their estate to Lewis Baboon;† that John had been often heard talk-

* Let it be remembered, that it was the country interest which formed the majority in the house of commons when the peace was made.

† It was said, that the nation would at last be sacrificed to the ambition of France.

ing to himself, and seen in the streets without shoes or stockings; that he did nothing from morning till night but beat his servants, after having been the best master alive: as for his wife, she was a mere natural. Sometimes John's house was beset with a whole regiment of attorneys' clerks, bailiffs and bailiffs' followers, and other small retainers of the law, who threw stones at his windows, and dirt at himself, as he went along the street. When John complained of want of ready money to carry on his suit, they advised him to pawn his plate and jewels, and that Mrs Bull should sell her linen and wearing-clothes.*

* The first edition introduces the following chapter, afterwards omitted, because the Earl of Nottingham, here called Don Diego Dismallo, was introduced in a different manner. See page 270.

How the lawyers agreed to send Don Diego Dismallo, the conjuror, to John Bull, to dissuade him from making an end of his lawsuit; and what passed between them.

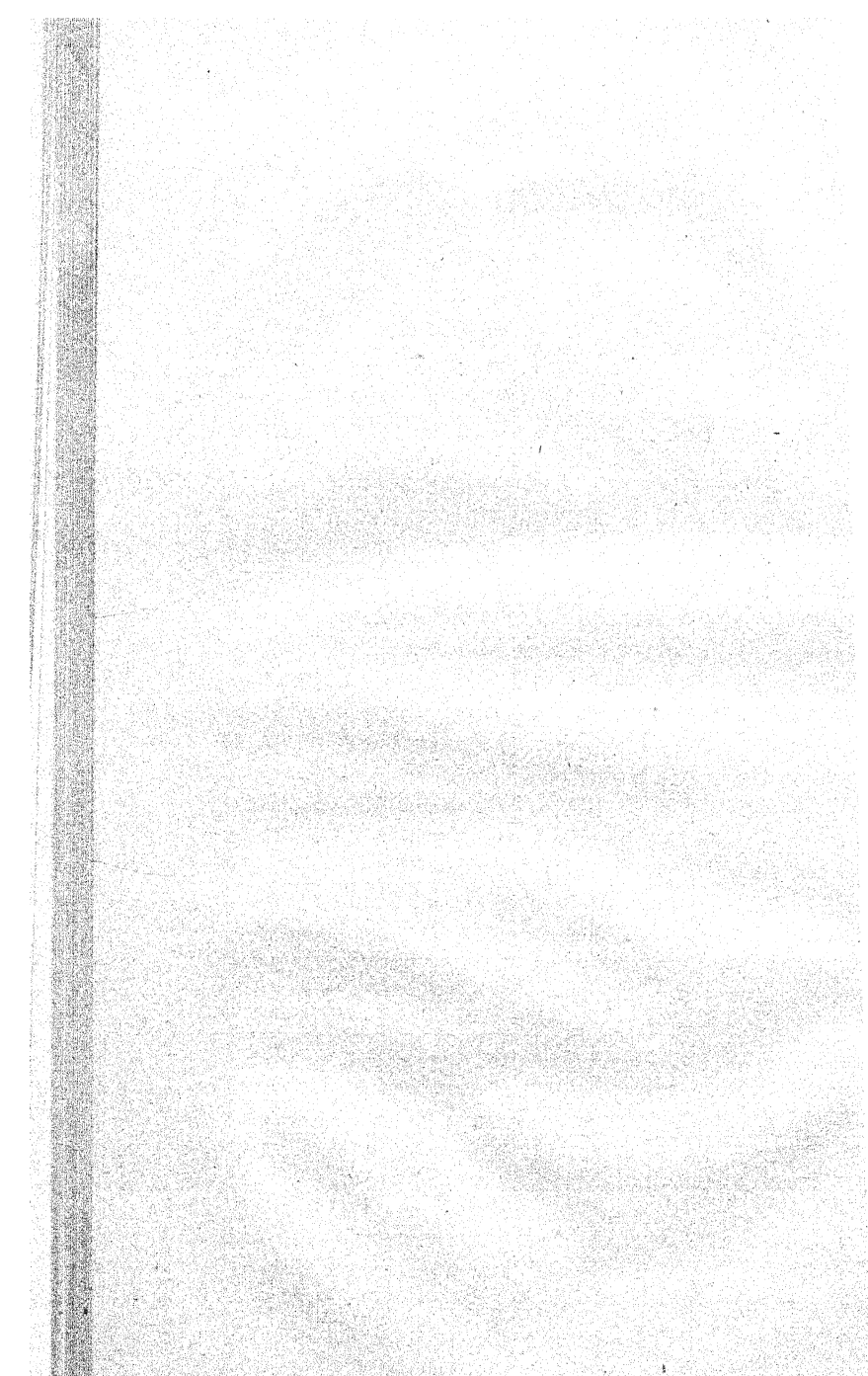
Bull. How does my good friend Don Diego?

Don. Never worse. Who can be easy when their friends are playing the fool?

Bull. But then you may be easy, for I am resolved to play the fool no longer: I wish I had hearkened to your advice, and compounded this lawsuit sooner.

Don. It is true; I was then against the ruinous ways of this lawsuit, but looking over my scheme since, I find there is an error in my calculation. Sol and Jupiter were in a wrong house, but I have now discovered their true places: I find that the stars are unanimously of opinion, that you will be successful in this cause: that Lewis will come to an untimely end, and Strutt will be turned out of doors by his wife and children.

Then he went on with a torrent of ecliptics, cycles, epicycles, ascendants, trines, quadrants, conjunctions, bulls, bears, goats, and rams, and abundance of hard words, which, being put together, signified nothing. John all this while stood gaping and staring, like a man in a trance.



LAW IS A BOTTOMLESS PIT;

OR, THE

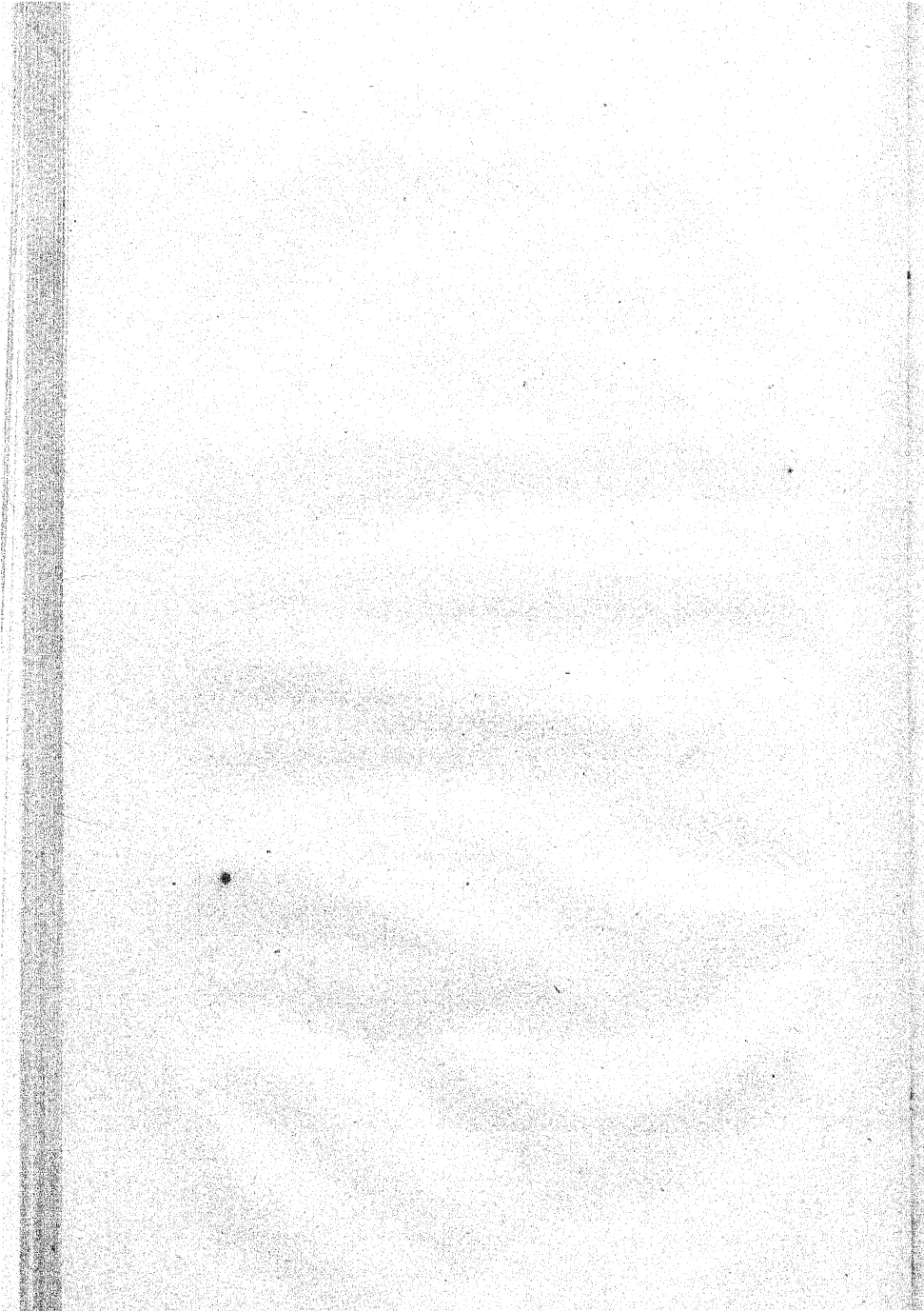
HISTORY

OF

JOHN BULL.

PART SECOND.

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1712.



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CHAP. I.

Mrs Bull's vindication of the indispensable duty of cuckoldom, incumbent upon Wives in case of the tyranny, infidelity, or insufficiency of Husbands: being a full answer to the Doctor's sermon against Adultery.

JOHN found daily fresh proofs of the infidelity and bad designs of his deceased wife; among other things, one day looking over his cabinet, he found the following paper.*

It is evident that matrimony is founded upon an original contract, whereby the wife makes over the right she has by the law of nature to the con-

* It is a parody upon the whiggish doctrines of a social contract between the rulers and the people, and of the inherent right of resistance.

cubitus vagus, in favour of the husband ; by which he acquires the property of all her posterity. But then the obligation is mutual : and where the contract is broken on one side, it ceases to bind on the other. Where there is a right, there must be a power to maintain it, and to punish the offending party. The power I affirm to be that original right, or rather that indispensable duty of cuckoldom, lodged in all wives in the cases above-mentioned. No wife is bound by any law, to which herself has not consented : all economical government is lodged originally in the husband and wife, the executive part being in the husband ; both have their privileges secured to them by law and reason : but will any man infer from the husband's being invested with the executive power, that the wife is deprived of her share, and that which is the principal branch of it, the original right of cuckoldom ? And that she has no remedy left, but *preces & lachrymæ*, or an appeal to a supreme court of judicature ? No less frivolous are the arguments that are drawn from the general appellations and terms of husband and wife. A husband denotes several different sorts of magistracy, according to the usages and customs of different climates and countries. In some Eastern nations it signifies a tyrant, with the absolute power of life and death : in Turkey it denotes an arbitrary governor, with power of perpetual imprisonment : in Italy it gives the husband the power of poison and padlocks : in the countries of England, France, and Holland, it has quite a different meaning, implying a free and equal government, securing to the wife, in certain cases, the liberty of cuckoldom, and the property of pinmoney, and separate maintenance. So that the arguments drawn from the terms of husband and

wife are fallacious, and by no means fit to support a tyrannical doctrine, as that of absolute unlimited chastity, and conjugal fidelity.

The general exhortations to chastity in wives are meant only for rules in ordinary cases, but they naturally suppose three conditions, of ability, justice, and fidelity in the husband: such an unlimited, unconditioned fidelity in the wife could never be supposed by reasonable men: it seems a reflection upon the ch—rch, to charge her with doctrines that countenance oppression.

This doctrine of the original right of cuckoldom is congruous to the law of nature, which is superior to all human laws, and for that I dare appeal to all wives: it is much to the honour of our English wives, that they have never given up that fundamental point; and that though in former ages they were muffled up in darkness and superstition, yet that notion seemed engraven on their minds, and the impression so strong, that nothing could impair it.

To assert the illegality of cuckoldom upon any pretence whatsoever, were to cast odious colours upon the married state, to blacken the necessary means of perpetuating families: such laws can never be supposed to have been designed to defeat the very end of matrimony, the propagation of mankind. I call them necessary means; for in many cases what other means are left? Such a doctrine wounds the honour of families; unsettles the titles to kingdoms, honours, and estates; for if the actions from which such settlements spring were illegal, all that is built upon them must be so too: but the last is absurd, therefore the first must be so likewise. What is the cause that Europe groans at present under the heavy load of a cruel and expensive war, but the tyran-

nical custom of a certain nation, and the scrupulous nicety of a silly queen,* in not exercising this indispensable duty of cuckoldom, whereby the kingdom might have had an heir, and a controverted succession might have been avoided? These are the effects of the narrow maxims of your clergy, That one must not do evil, that good may come of it.

The assertors of this indefeasible right, and *jus divinum* of matrimony, do all, in their hearts, favour gallants, and the pretenders to married women; for if the true legal foundation of the married state be once sapped, and instead thereof tyrannical maxims introduced, what must follow but elopements, instead of secret and peaceable cuckoldom?

From all that has been said, one may clearly perceive the absurdity of the doctrine of this seditious, discontented, hot-headed, ungifted, unedifying preacher, asserting, That the grand security of the matrimonial state, and the pillar upon which it stands, is founded upon the wife's belief of an absolute unconditional fidelity to the husband's bed: by which bold assertion he strikes at the root, digs the foundation, and removes the basis, upon which the happiness of a married state is built. As for his personal reflections, I would gladly know who are those wanton wives he speaks of? who are those ladies of high station, that he so boldly traduces in his sermon? It is pretty plain, whom these aspersions are aimed at, for which he deserves the pillory, or something worse.

* The queen of Charles II. of Spain, upon whose death without issue the war broke out.

In confirmation of this doctrine of the indispensable duty of cuckoldom, I could bring the example of the wisest wives in all ages, who by these means have preserved their husbands' families from ruin and oblivion by want of posterity: but what has been said, is a sufficient ground for punishing this pragmatical parson.*

CHAP. II.

The two great parties of Wives, the Devotoes and the Hitts.†

THE doctrine of unlimited chastity and fidelity in wives was universally espoused by all husbands; who went about the country, and made the wives sign papers, signifying their utter detestation and abhorrence of Mrs Bull's wicked doctrine of the indispensable duty of cuckoldom. Some yielded, others refused to part with their native liberty; which gave rise to two great parties among the wives, the devotoes and the hitts. Though it must be owned, the distinction was more nominal than real; for the devotoes would abuse freedoms sometimes; and those who were distinguished by the name of hitts, were often very honest. At the same time there came out an ingenious trea-

* The whole chapter is in ridicule of the violent offence taken by the Whigs at Sacheverel's Sermon, which led them very imprudently to vindictive measures, against a preacher whom nothing but persecution could have raised even to ephemeral importance.

† Those who were for or against the doctrine of non-resistance.

tise, with the title of "Good Advice to Husbands;" in which they are counselled not to trust too much to their wives owning the doctrine of unlimited conjugal fidelity, and so to neglect family duty, and a due watchfulness over the manners of their wives; that the greatest security to husbands was a vigorous constitution, good usage of their wives, and keeping them from temptation; many husbands having been sufferers by their trusting too much to general professions, as was exemplified in the case of a foolish and negligent husband, who, trusting to the efficacy of this principle, was undone by his wife's elopement from him.*

CHAP. III.

An Account of the Conference between Mrs Bull and Don Diego.

THE lawyers, as their last effort to put off the composition, sent Don Diego† to John. Don Diego was a very worthy gentleman, a friend to

* The author alludes to the Revolution, when James lost his kingdom, by miscalculating the reliance which ought in reason to be placed upon the non-resisting doctrines of the church of England.

† Among other obstacles to the treaty, was the opposition of the earl of Nottingham; a tory nobleman, who had (or rather was supposed to have) great influence in the House of Commons; but who, on this occasion, united himself with the Whigs. He acquired, from his starched manner, the name of Don Diego, by which he is distinguished in the Tatler, and from his rueful expression of face that of Dismal. He professed that, if the Whigs would

John, his mother, and present wife; and therefore supposed to have some influence over her: he had been ill-used himself by John's lawyers: but, because of some animosity to Sir Roger,* was against the composition:† the conference between him and Mrs Bull was word for word as follows:

Don Diego. Is it possible, cousin Bull, that you can forget the honourable maxims of the family you are come of, and break your word with three of the honestest, best meaning persons in the world, esquire South, Frog, and Hocus, that have sacrificed their interests to yours? It is base to take advantage of their simplicity and credulity, and leave them in the lurch at last.

Mrs Bull. I am sure they have left my family in a bad condition, we have hardly money to go to market, and nobody will take our word for sixpence. A very fine spark this esquire South! My husband took him in a dirty snottynosed boy; it was the business of half the servants to attend him, the rogue did bawl and make such a noise: sometimes he fell in the fire and burnt his face, sometimes broke his shins clambering over the benches, often pissed abed, and always came in so dirty, as if he had been dragged through the kennel at a boarding-school. He lost his money

give way to the bill against occasional conformity, so as to secure the High Church, he would bring over a large body of Tories to opposition. But he was unable to make good his promises.

* The cause of this animosity, from which his opposition was supposed to proceed, was Mr Harley's being chosen to succeed Nottingham as principal secretary of state, when he was removed from that office in the year 1704.

† He expostulated against the peace with great warmth in the house, when the queen was present *incognito*.

at chuck-farthing, shufflecap, and all-fours ; sold his books, pawned his linen, which we were always forced to redeem. Then the whole generation of him are so in love with bagpipes and puppetshows ! I wish you knew what my husband has paid at the pastry-cook's and confectioner's for Naples biscuits, tarts, custards, and sweetmeats.* All this while my husband considered him as a gentleman of a good family that had fallen into decay, gave him good education, and has settled him in a good creditable way of living, having procured him, by his interest, one of the best places of the country : and what return, think you, does this fine gentleman make us ? He will hardly give me or my husband a good word, or a civil expression : instead of sir and madam,† (which, though I say it, is our due) he calls us goody and gaffer such a one : says, he did us a great deal of honour to board with us : huffs and dings at such a rate, because we will not spend the little we have left, to get him the title and estate of lord Strutt : and then, forsooth, we shall have the honour to be his woollen-drapers. Besides, esquire South will be esquire South still ; fickle, proud, and ungrateful. If he behaves himself so, when he depends on us for his daily bread, can any man say, what he will do when he is got above the world ?

Don Diego. And would you lose the honour of so noble and generous an undertaking ? Would you rather accept this scandalous composition, and trust that old rogue, Lewis Baboon ?

* Something relating to the manners of the House of Austria, their pride, superstition, love of operas, shows, &c.

† Something relating to forms and titles.

Mrs Bull. Look you, friend Diego, if we law it on, till Lewis turns honest, I am afraid our credit will run low at Blackwell-hall. I wish every man had his own; but I still say, that lord Strutt's money shines as bright, and chinks as well, as esquire South's. I don't know any other hold, that we tradesmen have of these great folks, but their interest; buy dear and sell cheap, and I'll warrant ye you will keep your customer. The worst is, that lord Strutt's servants have got such a haunt about that old rogue's shop, that it will cost us many a firkin of strong beer to bring them back again; and the longer they are in a bad road, the harder it will be to get them out of it.

Don Diego. But poor Frog! what has he done? On my conscience, if there be an honest sincere man in the world, it is that Frog.

Mrs Bull. I think, I need not tell you how much Frog has been obliged to our family from his childhood; he carries his head high now, but he had never been the man he is, without our help.* Ever since the commencement of this lawsuit, it has been the business of Hocus, in sharing our expences, to plead for Frog. "Poor Frog," says he, "is in hard circumstances; he has a numerous family, and lives from hand to mouth; his children don't eat a bit of good victuals from one year's end to the other, but live upon salt herring, sour crud, and bore-cole; he does his utmost, poor fellow, to keep things even in the world, and has exerted himself beyond his ability in this lawsuit; but he really has not wherewithal to go on. What

* On the other side complaint was made of the unequal burden of the war.

signifies this hundred pounds? place it upon your side of the account; it is a great deal to poor Frog, and a trifle to you.”* This has been Hocus’s constant language, and I am sure he has had obligations enough to us to have acted another part.

Don Diego. No doubt Hocus meant all this for the best, but he is a tenderhearted, charitable man; Frog is indeed in hard circumstances.

Mrs Bull. Hard circumstances! I swear this is provoking to the last degree. All the time of the lawsuit, as fast as I have mortgaged, Frog has purchased: from a plain tradesman with a shop, warehouse, and a country hut, with a dirty fishpond at the end of it, he is now grown a very rich country gentleman, with a noble landed estate, noble palaces, manors, parks, gardens, and farms, finer than any we were ever master of.† Is it not strange, when my husband disbursed great sums every term, Frog should be purchasing some new farm or manor? So that if this lawsuit lasts, he will be far the richest man in his

* This *Argumentum ad Misericordiam* is gravely stated by the author of a Whig pamphlet, entitled, “The Dutch better Friends than the French to the Monarchy, Church, and Trade of England,” 1713. Having noticed that it was objected against the States, that they permitted their subjects, during the war, to have open trade with France; the letter-writer proceeds to apologize for their conduct by their inferiority to Great Britain in natural advantages. As their country lies low and damp, and produces neither vines nor grain, it would be hard, this author thinks, in the generous English, while rejoicing over their mighty ale, to grudge the Dutchman his greater facilities in procuring a cordial drop of brandy.

† The great acquisitions of the Dutch in Flanders were complained of by the ministerial party. See “The Conduct of the Allies.”

country. What is worse than all this, he steals away my customers every day; twelve of the richest and the best have left my shop by his persuasion, and whom, to my certain knowledge, he has under bonds never to return again: judge you if this be neighbourly dealing.

Don Diego. Frog is indeed pretty close in his dealings, but very honest: you are so touchy, and take things so hotly, I am sure there must be some mistake in this.

Mrs Bull. A plaguy one indeed! You know, and have often told me of it, how Hocus and those rogues kept my husband John Bull drunk for five years together with punch and strong waters; I am sure he never went one night sober to bed, till they got him to sign the strangest deed, that ever you saw in your life. The methods they took to manage him I'll tell you another time; at present I'll read only the writing.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

BETWEEN

JOHN BULL, CLOTHIER,

AND

NICHOLAS FROG, LINEN-DRAPER.*

I. THAT for maintaining the ancient good correspondence and friendship between the said parties, I Nicholas Frog do solemnly engage and promise to keep peace in John Bull's family; that neither his wife, children, nor servants give him any trouble, disturbance, or molestation whatsoever, but to oblige them all to do their duty quietly in their respective stations: and whereas the said John Bull, from the assured confidence that he has in my friendship, has appointed me executor of his last will and testament, and guardian to his children, I do undertake for me, my heirs and assigns, to see the same duly executed and performed, and that it shall be unalterable in all its parts by John Bull, or any body else: for that

* An attack was made in the House of Commons upon a treaty which had been concluded by the Lord Townshend at the Hague between the Queen and the States in 1709, for securing the Protestant succession, and for settling a barrier for Holland against France. And it was resolved, that several articles of this treaty were destructive to the trade and interest of Great Britain, that Lord Townshend had no authority to agree to them, and that he and all those, who advised ratifying the treaty, were enemies to their country. See "Swift's Remarks upon the Barrier Treaty," vol. v. p. 89.

purpose it shall be lawful and allowable for me to enter his house at any hour of the day or night; to break open bars, bolts, and doors, chests of drawers, and strong boxes, in order to secure the peace of my friend John Bull's family, and to see his will duly executed.*

II. In consideration of which kind neighbourly office of Nicholas Frog, in that he has been pleased to accept of the aforesaid trust, I John Bull having duly considered, that my friend Nicholas Frog at this time lives in a marshy soil and unwholesome air, infested with fogs and damps destructive of the health of himself, wife, and children; do bind and oblige me, my heirs and assigns, to purchase for the said Nicholas Frog, with the best and readiest of my cash, bonds, mortgages, goods, and chattels, a landed estate, with parks, gardens, palaces, rivers, fields, and outlets, consisting of as large extent, as the said Nicholas Frog shall think fit. And whereas the said Nicholas Frog is at present hemmed in too close by the grounds of Lewis Baboon, master of the science of defence, I the said John Bull do oblige myself, with the readiest of my cash, to purchase and enclose the said grounds, for as many fields and acres as the said Nicholas shall think fit: to the intent that the said Nicholas may have free egress and regress, without let or molesta-

* The Dutch engaged to guarantee the succession of the British crown, as settled by Parliament on the House of Hanover, against any person who should attempt to oppose the same, whether by open war, or by fomenting sedition and domestic conspiracy. And as the States engaged to furnish forces, by sea and land, for this purpose, it was contended by the Tories that the stipulation gave them a pretence to interfere in the affairs of England at their pleasure. See "Remarks on the Barrier Treaty."

tion, suitable to the demands of himself and family.*

III. Furthermore, the said John Bull obliges himself to make the country neighbours of Nicholas Frog allot a certain part of yearly rents to pay for the repairs of the said landed estate, to the intent that his good friend Nicholas Frog may be eased of all charges.†

IV. And whereas the said Nicholas Frog did contract with the deceased Lord Strutt about certain liberties, privileges, and immunities, formerly in the possession of the said John Bull; I the said John Bull do freely by these presents renounce, quit, and make over to the said Nicholas, the liberties, privileges, and immunities contracted for, in as full a manner, as if they never had belonged to me.‡

V. The said John Bull obliges himself, his heirs and assigns, not to sell one rag of broad or coarse cloth to any gentleman within the neighbourhood of the said Nicholas, except in such quantities and such rates, as the said Nicholas shall think fit.§

Signed and sealed,

JOHN BULL,
NIC. FROG.

* The treaty provided, that the contracting parties should conquer as many towns and forts as they could, to serve as a barrier and security to the United States.

† The States were to enjoy all the revenues of towns, places, forts, and their dependencies, which were to constitute the barrier.

‡ The commercial privileges in Spanish Flanders, hitherto peculiar to the English and Hanse towns, were to be extended to the Dutch.

§ It was provided, that the commerce upon the river Scheldt should be interrupted, and that no attempt should be made to

[The reading of this paper put Mrs Bull in such a passion, that she fell downright into a fit, and they were forced to give her a good quantity of the spirit of hartshorn before she recovered.]*

Don Diego. Why in such a passion, cousin? considering your circumstances at that time, I don't think this such an unreasonable contract. You see Frog, for all this, is religiously true to his bargain; he scorns to hearken to any composition without your privacy.

Mrs Bull. You know the contrary. † Read that letter.

[Reads the superscription.]

For Lewis Baboon, Master of the Noble Science of Defence.

SIR,

I understand, that you are at this time treating with my friend John Bull about restoring the lord Strutt's custom, and besides, allowing him certain privileges of parks and fish-ponds; I wonder how you, that are a man that knows the world, can talk with that simple fellow. He has been my bubble these twenty years, and to my certain knowledge understands no more of his

revive it to the prejudice of the United States, directly or indirectly.

* The Parliament were in great wrath at discussing the Barrier Treaty, considering it as having sacrificed the interest of Britain to that of Holland.

† In the mean time the Dutch were secretly negotiating with France.

own affairs, than a child in swaddling-clothes. I know he has got a sort of a pragmatistical silly jade of a wife, that pretends to take him out of my hands: but you and she both will find yourselves mistaken; I'll find those that shall manage her; and for him, he dares as well be hanged as take one step in his affairs without my consent. If you will give me what you promised him, I will make all things easy, and stop the deeds of ejection against lord Strutt: if you will not, take what follows: I shall have a good action against you, for pretending to rob me of my bubble. Take this warning from,

Your loving friend,

NIC. FROG.

I am told, cousin Diego, you are one of those that have undertaken to manage me, and that you have said you will carry a green bag yourself,* rather than we shall make an end of our lawsuit: I'll teach them and you too to manage.

Don Diego. For God's sake, madam, why so cholerick? I say this letter is some forgery; it never entered into the head of that honest man, Nic. Frog, to do any such thing.

Mrs Bull. I can't abide you: you have been railing these twenty years at esquire South, Frog, and Hocus, calling them rogues and pickpockets, and now they are turned the honestest fellows in the world. What is the meaning of all this?

Don Diego. Pray tell me how you came to employ this Sir Roger in your affairs, and not think of your old friend Diego?

Mrs Bull. So, so, there it pinches. To tell

* A musquet.

you truth, I have employed sir Roger in several weighty affairs, and have found him trusty and honest, and the poor man always scorned to take a farthing of me. I have abundance that profess great zeal, but they are damnable greedy of the pence. My husband and I are now in such circumstances, that we must be served upon cheaper terms than we have been.

Don Diego. Well, cousin, I find I can do no good with you; I am sorry that you will ruin yourself by trusting this sir Roger.

CHAP. IV.

*How the Guardians of the deceased Mrs Bull's three Daughters came to John, and what Advice they gave him; wherein are briefly treated the Characters of the three Daughters; also John Bull's Answer to the three Guardians.**

I TOLD you in a former chapter, that Mrs Bull, before she departed this life, had blessed John with three daughters. I need not here repeat their names, neither would I willingly use any scandalous reflections upon young ladies, whose reputations ought to be very tenderly handled; but the characters of these were so well known in the neighbourhood, that it is doing them no injury to make a short description of them.

* The debates in Parliament were still continued.

The eldest was a termagant, imperious, prodigal, lewd, profligate wench, as ever breathed : * she used to rantipole about the house, pinch the children, kick the servants, and torture the cats and the dogs ; she would rob her father's strong box, for money to give the young fellows that she was fond of ; she had a noble air, and something great in her mien, but such a noisome infectious breath, as threw all the servants that dressed her into consumptions ; if she smelt to the freshest nosegay, it would shrivel and wither as it had been blighted : she used to come home in her cups, and break the china and the looking-glasses ; and was of such an irregular temper, and so entirely given up to her passion, that you might argue as well with the north wind, as with her ladyship : so expensive, that the income of three dukedoms was not enough to supply her extravagance. Hocus loved her best, believing her to be his own, got upon the body of Mrs Bull.

The second daughter, † born a year after her sister, was a peevish, froward, ill-conditioned creature as ever was ; ugly as the devil, lean, haggard, pale, with saucer eyes, a sharp nose, and hunchbacked : but active, sprightly, and diligent about her affairs. Her ill complexion was occasioned by her bad diet, which was coffee, morning, noon, and night : she never rested quietly abed ; but used to disturb the whole family with shrieking out in her dreams, and plague them next day with interpreting them, for she took them all for gospel : she would cry out murder, and disturb

* *Polemia*, War.

† *Discordia*, Faction. The prejudice, credulity, and virulence of party, form the outlines of her character.

the whole neighbourhood ; and when John came running down stairs, to inquire what the matter was ; nothing, forsooth, only her maid had stuck a pin wrong in her gown : she turned away one servant, for putting too much oil in her sallad, and another for putting too little salt in her watergruel ; but such, as by flattery had procured her esteem, she would indulge in the greatest crime. Her father had two coachmen ; when one was on the coachbox, if the coach swung but the least to one side, she used to shriek so loud, that all the street concluded she was overturned ; but though the other was eternally drunk, and had overturned the whole family, she was very angry with her father for turning him away. Then she used to carry tales and stories from one to another, till she had set the whole neighbourhood together by the ears ; and this was the only diversion she took pleasure in. She never went abroad, but she brought home such a bundle of monstrous lies, as would have amazed any mortal but such as knew her ; of a whale that had swallowed a fleet of ships ; of the lions being let out of the Tower to destroy the protestant religion ; of the pope's being seen in a brandy-shop at Wapping ; and of a prodigious strong man, that was going to shove down the cupola of St Paul's ; of three millions of five pound pieces, that esquire South had found under an old wall ; of blazing stars, flying dragons, and abundance of such stuff. All the servants in the family made high court to her, for she domineered there, and turned out and in whom she pleased ; only there was an old grudge between her and sir Roger, whom she mortally hated, and used to hire fellows to squirt kennel water upon him, as he passed along the streets ; so that he was forced constantly to wear a sur-

tout of oiled cloth, by which means he came home pretty clean, except where the surtout was a little scanty.

As for the third,* she was a thief, and a common mercenary prostitute, and that without any solicitation from nature, for she owned she had no enjoyment. She had no respect of persons; a prince or a porter was all one, according as they paid; yea, she would leave the finest gentleman in the world, to go to an ugly pocky fellow, for sixpence more. In the practice of her profession she had amassed vast magazines of all sorts of things; she had above five hundred suits of fine clothes, and yet went abroad like a cinderwench: she robbed and starved all the servants, so that nobody could live near her.

So much for John's three daughters, which you will say were rarities to be fond of: yet nature will show itself; nobody could blame their relations for taking care of them: and therefore it was that Hocus, with two other of the guardians,† thought it their duty to take care of the interest of the three girls, and give John their best advice before he compounded the lawsuit.

Hocus. What makes you so shy of late, my good friend? There's nobody loves you better than I, nor has taken more pains in your affairs: as I hope to be saved, I would do any thing to serve you; I would crawl upon all four to serve you; I have spent my health and paternal estate in

* *Usuria*, Usury, is especially stated to be a daughter of John Bull's deceased wife, because the monied interest arose under the auspices of that Parliament which favoured the Continental war. See vol. v. p. 251.

† The Duke of Marlborough, with Godolphin and Sunderland remonstrated against a peace as highly impolitic.

your service. I have indeed a small pittance left, with which I might retire, and with as good a conscience as any man: but the thoughts of this disgraceful composition so touches me to the quick, that I cannot sleep: after I had brought the cause to the last stroke, that one verdict more had quite ruined old Lewis and lord Strutt, and put you in the quiet possession of every thing; then to compound! I cannot bear it. This cause was my favourite, I had set my heart upon it; it is like an only child; I cannot endure it should miscarry; for God's sake consider only to what a dismal condition old Lewis is brought. He is at an end of all his cash; his attorneys have hardly one trick left; they are at an end of all their chicane; besides, he has both his law and his daily bread now upon trust. Hold out only one term longer, and I'll warrant you, before the next, we shall have him in the Fleet. I'll bring him to the pillory; his ears shall pay for his perjuries. For the love of God don't compound: let me be damned if you have a friend in the world, that loves you better than I: there is nobody can say I am covetous, or that I have any interest to pursue, but yours.

2d Guardian. There is nothing so plain, as that this Lewis has a design to ruin all his neighbouring tradesmen; and at this time he has such a prodigious income, by his trade of all kinds, that if there is not some stop put to his exorbitant riches, he will monopolize every thing: nobody will be able to sell a yard of drapery or mercery-ware but himself. I then hold it adviseable, that you continue the lawsuit, and burst him at once. My concern for the three poor motherless children, obliges me to give you this advice: for

their estates, poor girls! depend upon the success of this cause.

3d Guardian. I own this writ of ejectment has cost dear;* but then consider it is a jewel well worth the purchasing at the price of all you have. None but Mr Bull's declared enemies can say, he has any other security for his clothing trade, but the ejectment of lord Strutt. The only question then that remains to be decided, is, who shall stand the expences of the suit? To which the answer is as plain; who but he. that is to have the advantage of the sentence! When esquire South has got possession of his title and honour, is not John Bull to be his clothier? Who, then, but John, ought to put him in possession? Ask but any indifferent gentleman, who ought to bear his charges at law? and he will readily answer, his tradesmen. I do therefore affirm, and I will go to death with it, that, being his clothier, you ought to put him in quiet possession of his estate, and, with the same generous spirit you have begun it, complete the good work. If you persist in the bad measures you are now in, what must become of the three poor orphans? My heart bleeds for the poor girls.

John Bull. You are all very eloquent persons; but give me leave to tell you, you express a great deal more concern for the three girls than for me; I think my interest ought to be considered in the first place. As for you, Hocus, I can't but say you have managed my lawsuit with great address, and much to my honour; and though I say it,

* The author seems to allude to the capture of Bouchain in the face of the French army, the last exploit of the Duke of Marlborough in the field.

you have been well paid for it. Why must the burden be taken off Frog's back, and laid upon my shoulders? He can drive about his own parks and fields in his gilt chariot, when I have been forced to mortgage my estate: his note will go farther than my bond. Is it not matter of fact, that, from the richest tradesman in all the country, I am reduced to beg and borrow from scribes and usurers, that suck the heart, blood, and guts out of me? and what is all this for? Did you like Frog's countenance better than mine? Was not I your old friend and relation? Have I not presented you nobly? Have I not clad your whole family? Have you not had a hundred yards at a time of the finest cloth in my shop? Why must the rest of the tradesmen be not only indemnified from charges, but forbid to go on with their own business, and what is more their concern than mine? As to holding out this term, I appeal to your own conscience, has not that been your constant discourse these six years, "one term more, and old Lewis goes to pot." If thou art so fond of my cause, be generous for once, and lend me a brace of thousands. Ah Hocus! Hocus! I know thee; not a sous to save me from gaol, I trow. Look ye, gentlemen, I have lived with credit in the world, and it grieves my heart, never to stir out of my doors, but to be pulled by the sleeve by some rascally dun or other: "Sir, remember my bill: there's a small concern of a thousand pounds, I hope you think on't, sir." And to have these usurers transact my debts at coffeehouses, and alehouses, as if I were going to break up shop. Lord! that ever the rich, the generous John Bull, clothier, the envy of all his neighbours, should be brought to compound his debts for five shillings in the pound:

and to have his name in an advertisement for a statute of bankrupt. The thought of it makes me mad. I have read somewhere in the Apocrypha, that one should "not consult with a woman, touching her of whom she is jealous; nor with a merchant, concerning exchange; nor with a buyer, of selling; nor with an unmerciful man of kindness, &c." I could have added one thing more, "nor with an attorney, about compounding a lawsuit." The ejectment of lord Strutt will never do. The evidence is crimp; the witnesses swear backward and forward, and contradict themselves; and his tenants stick by him.* One tells me, that I must carry on my suit, because Lewis is poor; another, because he is still too rich: whom shall I believe? I am sure of one thing, that a penny in the purse is the best friend John can have at last; and who can say that this will be the last suit I shall be engaged in? Besides, if this ejectment were practicable, is it reasonable, that when esquire South is losing his money to sharpers and pickpockets, going about the country with fiddlers and buffoons, and squandering his income with hawks and dogs, I should lay out the fruits of my honest industry in a lawsuit for him, only upon the hopes of being his clothier? And when the cause is over, I shall not have the benefit of my project for want of money to go to market. Look ye, gentlemen, John Bull is but a plain man; but John Bull knows when he is ill used. I know the infirmity of our family; we are apt to play the boon companion, and throw away

* None of the Spanish provinces, that of Catalonia excepted, shewed any attachment to Charles of Austria.

our money in our cups : but it was an unfair thing in you, gentlemen, to take advantage of my weakness, to keep a parcel of roaring bullies about me day and night, with huzzas and huntinghorns, and ringing the changes on butchers cleavers, never let me cool, and make me set my hand to papers, when I could hardly hold my pen. There will come a day of reckoning for that proceeding. In the mean time, gentlemen, I beg you will let me into my affairs a little, and that you would not grudge me the small remainder of a very great estate.

CHAP. V.

Esquire South's Message and Letter to Mrs Bull.

THE arguments used by Hocus and the rest of the guardians had hitherto proved insufficient : * John and his wife could not be persuaded to bear the expence of esquire South's lawsuit. They thought it reasonable, that since he was to have the honour and advantage, he should bear the greatest share of the charges ; and retrench what he lost to sharpers, and spent upon country-dances and puppet-plays, to apply it to that use. This was not very grateful to the esquire ; therefore, as the last experiment, he resolved to send sig-

* But as all attempts of the party to preclude the treaty were ineffectual, and complaints were made of the deficiencies of the house of Austria, the archduke sent a message and letter,

nior Benenato,* master of his fox-hounds, to Mrs Bull, to try what good he could do with her. This signior Benenato had all the qualities of a fine gentleman, that were fit to charm a lady's heart; and if any person in the world could have persuaded her, it was he. But such was her unshaken fidelity to her husband, and the constant purpose of her mind to pursue his interest, that the most refined arts of gallantry that were practised, could not seduce her heart. The necklaces, diamond crosses, and rich bracelets that were offered, she rejected with the utmost scorn and disdain. The music and serenades that were given her, sounded more ungrateful in her ears than the noise of a screech-owl; however, she received esquire South's letter by the hands of signior Benenato with that respect, which became his quality. The copy of the letter is as follows, in which you will observe he changes a little his usual style.

MADAM,

THE writ of ejectment against Philip Baboon, (pretended lord Strutt) is just ready to pass: there want but a few necessary forms, and a verdict or two more, to put me in quiet possession of my honour and estate: I question not, but that, according to your wonted generosity and goodness, you will give it the finishing stroke; an honour that I would grudge any body but yourself.

* By Prince Eugene, urging the continuance of the war, and offering to bear a proportion of the expence. This distinguished ambassador was received with great civility at the British court, and loaded with personal attentions, but made no progress in the affairs of the Archduke. See vol. v. p. 198.

In order to ease you of some part of the charges, I promise to furnish pen, ink, and paper, provided you pay for the stamps. Besides, I have ordered my stewards to pay, out of the readiest and best of my rents, five pounds ten shillings a year, till my suit is finished.* I wish you health and happiness, being, with due respect,

Madam,

Your assured friend,

SOUTH.

What answer Mrs Bull returned to his letter you shall know in my Third Part, only they were at a pretty good distance in their proposals; for as esquire South only offered to be at the charges of pen, ink, and paper, Mrs Bull refused any more than to lend her barge,† to carry his counsel to Westminster-hall.

* The emperor offered to pay one million of crowns to support the war in Spain, and to make up his troops in that kingdom to 30,000 men.

† This proportion was however thought to be so inconsiderable, that the letter produced no other effect, than the convoy of the forces by the English fleet to Barcelona.

LAW IS A BOTTOMLESS PIT :

OR, THE

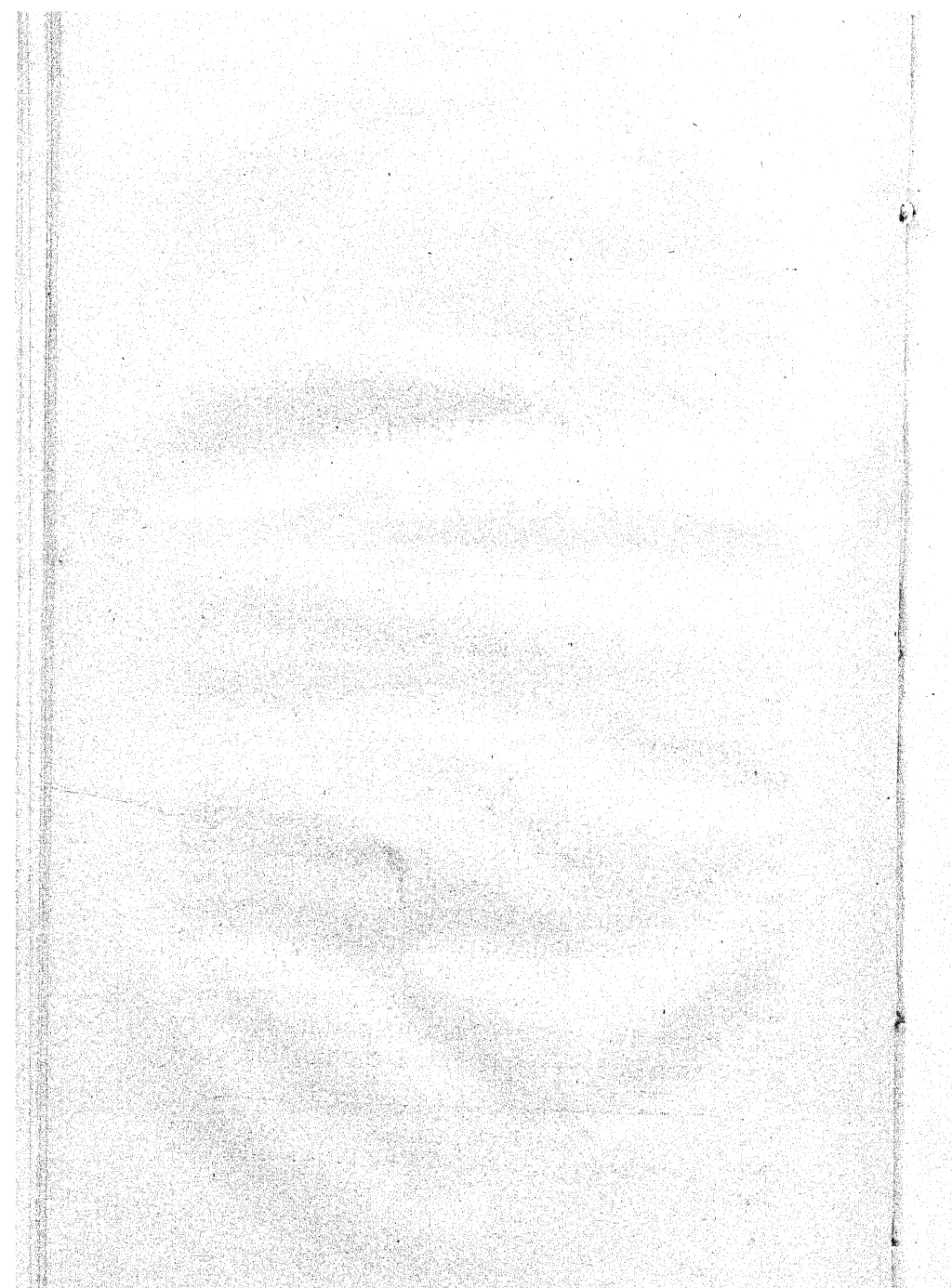
HISTORY

OF

JOHN BULL.

THE THIRD PART.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1718.



THE
HISTORY
OF
JOHN BULL.

PART III.

The Publisher's Preface.

THE world is much indebted to the famous Sir Humphry Polesworth for his ingenious and impartial account of John Bull's lawsuit; yet there is just cause of complaint against him, in that he relates it only by parcels, and won't give us the whole work: this forces me, who am only the publisher, to bespeak the assistance of his friends and acquaintance, to engage him to lay aside that stingy humour, and gratify the curiosity of the public at once. He pleads in excuse, that they are only private memoirs, written for his own use, in a loose style, to serve as a help to his ordinary conversation.* I represented to him the good

* This excuse of Sir Humphry can only relate to the Second Part, or sequel of the history. See the Preface to the First Part.

reception the First Part had met with; that though calculated only for the meridian of Grub-street, it was yet taken notice of by the better sort; that the world was now sufficiently acquainted with John Bull, and interested itself in his concerns. He answered, with a smile, that he had indeed some trifling things to impart, that concerned John Bull's relations and domestic affairs; if these would satisfy me, he gave me free leave to make use of them, because they would serve to make the history of the lawsuit more intelligible. When I had looked over the manuscript, I found likewise some farther account of the composition, which perhaps may not be unacceptable to such as have read the former part.

CHAP. I.

*The character of John Bull's Mother.**

JOHN had a mother, whom he loved and honoured extremely, a discreet, grave, sober, good conditioned, cleanly old gentlewoman as ever lived; she was none of your crossgrained, termagant, scolding jades, that one had as good be hanged as live in the house with, such as are always censuring the conduct, and telling scandalous stories of their neighbours, extolling their own

* The church of England, upon which the author pronounces an eulogium as steering between the extremes of presbytery and popery, in the articles of external ceremonies, holidays, &c.

good qualities, and undervaluing those of others. On the contrary, she was of a meek spirit, and as she was strictly virtuous herself, so she always put the best construction upon the words and actions of her neighbours, except where they were irreconcilable to the rules of honesty and decency. She was neither one of your precise prudes, nor one of your fantastical old belles, that dress themselves like girls of fifteen: as she neither wore a ruff, forehead cloth, nor high crowned hat, so she had laid aside feathers, flowers, and crimped ribands, in her head-dress, furbelow-scarfs, and hoop-petticoats. She scorned to patch and paint, yet she loved to keep her hands and her face clean. Though she wore no flaunting laced ruffles, she would not keep herself in a constant sweat with greasy flannel: though her hair was not stuck with jewels, she was not ashamed of a diamond cross; she was not like some ladies, hung about with toys and trinkets, tweezer-cases, pocket glasses, and essence bottles; she used only a gold watch and an almanack, to mark the hours and the holidays.

Her furniture was neat and genteel, well fancied with a *bon goust*. As she affected not the grandeur of a state* with a canopy, she thought there was no offence in an elbow chair; she had laid aside your carving, gilding, and japanwork, as being too apt to gather dirt; but she could never be prevailed upon to part with plain waincot and clean hangings. There are some ladies, that affect to smell a stink in every thing; they are always highly perfumed, and continually burning frankincense in their rooms; she was above

* An old expression for a throne, or chair of state.

such affectation, yet she never would lay aside the use of brooms and scrubbing-brushes, and scrupled not to lay her linen in fresh lavender.

She was no less genteel in her behaviour, well-bred, without affectation, in the due mean between one of your affected curt'sying pieces of formality, and your romps that have no regard to the common rules of civility. There are some ladies that affect a mighty regard for their relations; We must not eat to-day, for my uncle Tom, or my cousin Betty, died this time ten years: Let's have a ball to-night, it is my neighbour such-a-one's birthday. She looked upon all this as grimace; yet she constantly observed her husband's birthday, her weddingday, and some few more.*

Though she was a truly good woman, and had a sincere motherly love for her son John, yet there wanted not those who endeavoured to create a misunderstanding between them, and they had so far prevailed with him once, that he turned her out of doors,† to his great sorrow, as he found afterward, for his affairs went on at sixes and sevens.

She was no less judicious in the turn of her conversation and choice of her studies, in which she far exceeded all her sex: your rakes that hate the company of all sober, grave gentlewomen, would bear hers: and she would, by her handsome manner of proceeding, sooner reclaim them than some that were more sour and reserved: she was a zealous preacher up of chastity, and conjugal

* The observation of Christmas, Easter, and other solemn festivals, distinguished from the numerous holidays of the Catholics.

† In the rebellion of 1641.

fidelity in wives, and by no means a friend to the new-fangled doctrine of the indispensable duty of cuckoldom:* though she advanced her opinions with a becoming assurance, yet she never ushered them in, as some positive creatures will do, with dogmatical assertions, This is infallible; I cannot be mistaken; none but a rogue can deny it. It has been observed, that such people are oftener in the wrong than any body.†

Though she had a thousand good qualities, she was not without her faults; among which, one might perhaps reckon too great lenity to her servants, to whom she always gave good counsel, but often too gentle correction. I thought I could not say less of John Bull's mother, because she bears a part in the following transactions.

CHAP. II.

The character of John Bull's sister Peg, ‡ with the quarrels that happened between master and miss in their Childhood.

JOHN had a sister, a poor girl that had been starved at nurse; any body would have guessed miss to have been bred up under the influence of a cruel step-dame, and John to be the fondling of a tender mother. John looked ruddy and plump,

* The church is averse to anti-monarchical government. See Part II. chap. 1 and 2.

† But makes no pretence to infallibility.

‡ The nation and church of Scotland.

with a pair of cheeks like a trumpeter; miss looked pale and wan, as if she had the green-sickness: and no wonder, for John was the darling, he had all the good bits, was crammed with good pullet, chicken, pig, goose, and capon, while miss had only a little oatmeal and water, or a dry crust without butter. John had his golden pippins, peaches, and nectarines; poor miss a crab apple, sloe, or blackberry. Master lay in the best apartment, with his bedchamber toward the south sun. Miss lodged in a garret, exposed to the north wind, which shrivelled her countenance; however, this usage, though it stunted the girl in her growth, gave her a hardy constitution; she had life and spirit in abundance, and knew when she was ill used: now and then she would seize upon John's commons, snatch a leg of a pullet, or a bit of good beef, for which they were sure to go to fisty-cuffs. Master was indeed too strong for her; but miss would not yield in the least point, but even when master had got her down, she would scratch and bite like a tiger; when he gave her a cuff on the ear, she would prick him with her knitting-needle. John brought a great chain one day to tie her to the bedpost, for which affront miss aimed a penknife at his heart.* In short, these quarrels grew up to rooted aversions; ~~te c~~ gave one another nicknames: she called him Gundyguts, and he called her Lousy Peg; though the girl was a tight clever wench as any was, and

* Henry VIII. to unite the two kingdoms under one sovereign, offered his daughter Mary to James V. of Scotland; this offer was rejected, and followed by a war: to this event the author alludes, or perhaps to the arbitrary conduct of Charles I. who, by attempting to force the Liturgy on Scotland, occasioned the beginning of the civil war.

through her pale looks you might discern spirit and vivacity, which made her not, indeed, a perfect beauty, but something that was agreeable. It was barbarous in parents not to take notice of these early quarrels, and make them live better together, such domestic feuds proving afterward the occasion of misfortunes to them both. Peg had, indeed, some odd humours, and comical antipathies, for which John would jeer her. "What think you of my sister Peg, (says he) that faints at the sound of an organ, and yet will dance and frisk at the noise of a bagpipe?" "What's that to you, Gundyguts, (quoth Peg) every body's to choose their own music." Then Peg had taken a fancy not to say her *Pater noster*, which made people imagine strange things of her. Of the three brothers, that have made such a clutter in the world, Lord Peter, Martin, and Jack, Jack had of late been her inclinations: * Lord Peter she detested; nor did Martin stand much better in her good graces, but Jack hath found the way to her heart. I have often admired, what charms she discovered in that awkward booby, till I talked with a person that was acquainted with the intrigue, who gave me the following account of it.

* Love of presbytery.

CHAP. III.

*Jack's charms, or the method by which he gained Peg's heart.**

IN the first place, Jack was a very young fellow, by much the youngest of the three brothers, and people, indeed, wondered how such a young up-start jackanapes should grow so pert and saucy, and take so much upon him.

Jack bragged of greater abilities than other men; he was well gifted, as he pretended; I need not tell you what secret influence that has upon the ladies.

Jack had a most scandalous tongue, and persuaded Peg that all mankind, beside himself, were poxed by that scarlet-faced whore, Signiora Bubonia.† “As for his brother, Lord Peter, the tokens were evident on him, blotches, scabs, and the corona: his brother Martin, though he was not quite so bad, had some nocturnal pains, which his friends pretended were only scorbutical; but he was sure it proceeded from a worse cause.” By such malicious insinuations, he had possessed the lady, that he was the only man in the world of a sound, pure, and untainted constitution: though there were some that stuck not to say, that Signiora Bubonia and Jack railed at one another, only the better to hide an intrigue; and that Jack had been found with Signiora under his cloak, carrying her home in a dark stormy night.

* Character of the presbyterians.

† The whore of Babylon, or the pope.

Jack was a prodigious ogler; he would ogle you the outside of his eye inward, and the white upward.

Jack gave himself out for a man of great estate in the Fortunate Islands; of which the sole property was vested in his person: by this trick he cheated abundance of poor people of small sums, pretending to make over plantations in the said islands; but when the poor wretches came there with Jack's grant, they were beat, mocked, and turned out of doors.

I told you that Peg was whimsical, and loved any thing that was particular: in that way, Jack was her man, for he neither thought, spoke, dressed, nor acted like other mortals: he was for your bold strokes, he railed at fops, though he was himself the most affected in the world; instead of the common fashion, he would visit his mistress in a mourning cloak, band, short cuffs, and a peaked beard.* He invented a way of coming into a room backward, which, he said, showed more humility, and less affectation: where other people stood, he sat; where they sat, he stood; when he went to court, he used to kick away the state, and sit down by his prince cheek by jole: Confound these states, says he, they are a modern invention: when he spoke to his prince, he always turned his br—ch upon him:† if he was advised to fast for his health, he would eat roast beef; if he was allowed a more plentiful diet, then he would be sure that day to live upon watergruel;

* The dress of the Calvinistical clergy.

† The presbyterian rejection of forms and postures in the exercise of religious duty.

he would cry at a wedding, laugh and make jests at a funeral.*

He was no less singular in his opinions; you would have burst your sides to hear him talk of politics: "All government, says he, is founded upon the right distribution of punishments; decent executions keep the world in awe; for that reason the majority of mankind ought to be hanged every year. For example, I suppose, the magistrates ought to pass an irreversible sentence upon all blue-eyed children from the cradle; † but that there may be some show of justice in this proceeding, these children ought to be trained up by masters, appointed for that purpose, to all sorts of villany; ‡ that they may deserve their fate, and the execution of them may serve as an object of terror to the rest of mankind." As to the giving of pardons, he had this singular method, that when these wretches had the rope about their necks, it should be inquired, who believed they should be hanged, and who not? § the first were to be pardoned, the last hanged outright. Such as were once pardoned, were never to be hanged afterward for any crime whatsoever. || He had such skill in physiognomy, that he would pronounce peremptorily upon a man's face, That fellow, says he, do what he will, can't avoid hanging; he has a hanging look. By the same art he would prognosticate a principality to a scoundrel.

He was no less particular in the choice of his studies; they were generally bent toward explod-

* The Scottish kirk reversed the fasts and holidays of the English church.

† Absolute predestination.

‡ Reprobation.

§ Saving faith; a belief that one shall certainly be saved.

|| Election.

ded chimeras, the *perpetuum mobile*, the circular shot, philosopher's stone, silent gunpowder, making chains for fleas, nets for flies, and instruments to unravel cobwebs, and split hairs.*

Thus, I think, I have given a distinct account of the methods he practised upon Peg. Her brother would now and then ask her, "What a devil do'st thou see in that pragmatistical coxcomb to make thee so in love with him? he is a fit match for a tailor or a shoemaker's daughter, but not for you, that are a gentlewoman." "Fancy is free," quoth Peg: "I'll take my own way, do you take yours. I do not care for your flaunting beaus, that gang with their breasts open, and their sarks over their waistcoats; that accost me with set speeches out of Sidney's Arcadia, or the Academy of Compliments.† Jack is a sober, grave, young man: though he has none of your studied harangues, his meaning is sincere: he has a great regard to his father's will; and he that shows himself a good son, will make a good husband; besides, I know he has the original deed of conveyance to the Fortunate Islands; the others are counterfeits." There is nothing so obstinate as a young lady in her amours; the more you cross her, the worse she is.

* The learning of the presbyterians, chiefly exercised upon the most useless and obscure disquisitions of school divinity.

† The surplice and common prayers.

CHAP. IV.

*How the relations reconciled John and his sister Peg, and what return Peg made to John's message.**

JOHN BULL, otherwise a good-natured man, was very hardhearted to his sister Peg, chiefly from an aversion he had conceived in his infancy. While he flourished, kept a warm house, and drove a plentiful trade, poor Peg was forced to go hawking and peddling about the streets, selling knives, scissars, and shoebuckles: now and then carried a basket of fish to the market; sewed, spun, and knit for a livelihood, till her finger-ends were sore, and when she could not get bread for her family, she was forced to hire them out at journeywork to her neighbours.† Yet in these her poor circumstances she still preserved the air and mien of a gentlewoman, a certain decent pride, that extorted respect from the haughtiest of her neighbours; when she came into any full assembly she would not yield the *pas* to the best of them. If one asked her, are not you related to John Bull? "Yes," says she, "he has the honour to be my brother." So Peg's affairs went, till all the relations cried out shame upon John for his barbarous usage of his own flesh and blood; that it was an easy matter for him to put her in a creditable way of living, not only without hurt, but with advantage to himself, being she was an industrious person, and

* The treaty of Union between England and Scotland.

† Before the Union the Scottish adventurers drove a petty trade in most nations of Europe.

might be serviceable to him in his way of business. "Hang her, jade," quoth John, "I can't endure her, as long as she keeps that rascal Jack's company." They told him, the way to reclaim her was to take her into his house; that by conversation the childish humours of their younger days might be worn out. These arguments were enforced by a certain incident. It happened that John was at that time about making his will and entailing his estate,* the very same in which Nic Frog is named executor. Now his sister Peg's name being in the entail, he could not make a thorough settlement without her consent. There was, indeed, a malicious story went about, as if John's last wife had fallen in love with Jack as he was eating custard on horseback:† that she persuaded John to take his sister into the house, the better to drive on the intrigue with Jack, concluding he would follow his mistress Peg. All I can infer from this story is, that when one has got a bad character in the world, people will report and believe any thing of one, true or false. But to return to my story; when Peg received John's message, she huffed and stormed like the devil:‡ "My brother John," quoth she, "is

* The succession to the crown having been settled by act of parliament in England, upon the house of Hanover, and no such act having passed in Scotland, then a separate kingdom, it was thought a proper time to complete the union which had been often attempted, and which was recommended to the Scots by King William III.

† A presbyterian lord mayor of London.

‡ The Scots expressed their fears for the presbyterian government, and apprehensions of being burdened with the English national debts; and, far from listening to the proposals of the English, passed the celebrated act of security, which seemed to lay the foundation for a separation of the kingdoms upon Queen Anne's death. See Vol. iv. p. 197.

grown wondrous kind-hearted all of a sudden, but I meikle doubt whether it be not mair for their own conveniency than for my good: he draws up his writs and his deeds, forsooth, and I must set my hand to them, unsight, unseen. I like the young man* he has settled upon well enough, but I think I ought to have a valuable consideration for my consent. He wants my poor little farm, because it makes a nook in his park-wall: ye may e'en tell him, he has mair than he makes good use of: he gangs up and down drinking, roaring, and quarrelling, through all the country markets, making foolish bargains in his cups, which he repents when he is sober; like a thriftless wretch, spending the goods and gear that his forefathers won with the sweat of their brows; light come, light go, he cares not a farthing. But why should I stand surety for his contracts? the little I have is free, and I can call it my awn; hame's hame, let it be never so hamely. I ken him well enough, he could never abide me, and when he has his ends, he'll e'en use me as he did before. I am sure I shall be treated like a poor drudge: I shall be set to tend the bairns, dearn the hose, and mend the linen. Then there's no living with that old carline his mother; she rails at Jack, and Jack's an honestier man than any of her kin: I shall be plagued with her spells and her *pater-nosters*, and silly old-world ceremonies: I mun never pair my nails on a Friday, nor begin a journey on Childermas-day, and I mun stand becking and binging, as I gang out and into the hall. Tell him he may e'en gang his get; I'll have nothing to do with him; I'll stay, like the

* The Elector of Hanover.

poor country mouse, in my awn habitation." So Peg talked; but for all that, by the interposition of good friends, and by many a bonny thing that was sent, and many more that were promised Peg, the matter was concluded, and Peg taken into the house upon certain articles.* one of which was that she might have the freedom of Jack's conversation,† and might take him for better and for worse, if she pleased; provided always he did not come into the house at unseasonable hours, and disturb the rest of the old woman, John's mother.

CHAP. V.

Of some quarrels that happened after Peg was taken into the family.

It is an old observation, that the quarrels of relations are harder to reconcile than any other; injuries from friends fret and gall more, and the memory of them is not so easily obliterated. This is cunningly represented by one of your old sages, called Æsop, in the story of the bird, that was grieved extremely at being wounded with an arrow feathered with his own wing: as also of the oak, that let many a heavy groan, when he was cleft with a wedge of his own timber.

* The Union was brought about, partly at least, by private intrigue.

† The act of toleration,

There was no man in the world less subject to rancour than John Bull, considering how often his goodnature had been abused; yet I don't know how, but he was too apt to hearken to tattling people, that carried tales between him and his sister Peg, on purpose to sow jealousies, and set them together by the ears.* They say that there were some hardships put upon Peg, which had been better let alone; but it was the business of good people to restrain the injuries on one side, and moderate the resentments on the other; a good friend acts both parts; the one without the other will not do.

The purchase money of Peg's farm was ill paid;† then Peg loved a little good liquor, and the servants shut up the wine-cellar; for that Peg found a trick, for she made a false key.‡ Peg's servants complained, that they were debarred from all manner of business, and never suffered to touch the least thing within the house;§ if they offered to come into the warehouse, then straight went the yard slap over their noddle! if they ventured into the counting-room, a fellow would throw an inkbottle at their head; if they came into the best apartment, to set any thing there in order, they were saluted with a broom; if they meddled with any thing in the kitchen, it was odds but

* Quarrels about some of the articles of Union, particularly the peerage, a subject which occasioned a meeting of all the Scottish peers.

† By the fifteenth article of the treaty of Union, it was agreed that Scotland should have an equivalent for several customs and excises to which she would become liable, and this equivalent was not paid.

‡ Run wine.

§ By the test act, dissenters, and Scottish presbyterians, of course, are excluded from places and employments.

the cook laid them over the pate with a ladle ; one that would have got into the stables, was met by two rascals, who fell to work with him with a brush and a currycomb ; some climbing up into the coach-box, were told that one of their companions had been there before that could not drive : * then slap went the long whip about their ears.

On the other hand it was complained, that Peg's servants were always asking for drink-money ; † that they had more than their share of the Christmas-box : to say the truth, Peg's lads bustled pretty hard for that : for when they were endeavouring to lock it up, they got in their great fists, and pulled out handfuls of half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences. Others in the scramble picked up guineas and broad-pieces. But there happened a worse thing than all this ; it was complained that Peg's servants had great stomachs, and brought so many of their friends and acquaintance to the table, that John's family was like to be eat out of house and home. Instead of regulating this matter as it ought to be, Peg's young men were thrust away from the table ; then there was the devil and all to do ; spoons, plates, and dishes flew about the room like mad ; and sir Roger, who was now *major domo*, had enough to do to quiet them. Peg said, this was contrary to agreement, whereby she was in all things to be treated like a child of the family ; then she called upon those, that had made her such fair promises, and undertook for her brother John's good behaviour ; but alas ! to her cost she found, that they were the

* Alluding to the misconduct of the Stuarts.
‡ Endeavoured to get their share of places.

first and readiest to do her the injury. John at last agreed to this regulation; that Peg's footmen might sit with his book-keeper, journeymen, and apprentices: and Peg's better sort of servants might sit with his footmen, if they pleased.*

Then they began to order plumporridge and mince-pies for Peg's dinner: Peg told them she had an aversion to that sort of food: that upon forcing down a mess of it some years ago,† it threw her into a fit, till she brought it up again. Some alleged it was nothing but humour, that the same mess should be served up again for supper, and breakfast next morning; others would have made use of a horn; but the wiser sort bid let her alone, and she might take to it of her own accord.

CHAP. VI.

The Conversation between John Bull and his Wife.

Mrs Bull. Though our affairs, honey, are in a bad condition, I have a better opinion of them, since you seemed to be convinced of the ill course you have been in, and are resolved to submit to proper remedies. But when I consider your immense debts, your foolish bargains, and the general disorder of your business, I have a curiosity

* Articles of Union, whereby, as they were then understood, a Scots commoner, but not a lord, might be made a peer; a regulation admirably parodied by the domestic arrangement in the text.

† Introducing episcopacy into Scotland, by Charles I.

to know what fate or chance has brought you into this condition.

John Bull. I wish you would talk of some other subject; the thoughts of it make me mad; our family must have their run.

Mrs Bull. But such a strange thing as this never happened to any of your family before: they have had lawsuits, but though they spent the income, they never mortgaged the stock. Sure you must have some of the Norman or the Norfolk blood in you. Prithee give me some account of these matters.

John Bull. Who could help it? There lives not such a fellow by bread as that old Lewis Baboon: he is the most cheating contentious rogue upon the face of the earth. You must know, one day, as Nic. Frog and I were over a bottle, making up an old quarrel, the old fellow would needs have us drink a bottle of his Champagne, and so one after another, till my friend Nic. and I, not being used to such heady stuff, got bloody drunk. Lewis all the while, either by the strength of his brain, or flinching his glass, kept himself sober as a judge. "My worthy friends," quoth Lewis, "henceforth let us live neighbourly; I am as peaceable and quiet as a lamb, of my own temper, but it has been my misfortune to live among quarrelsome neighbours. There is but one thing can make us fall out, and that is the inheritance of lord Strutt's estate; I am content, for peace sake, to wave my right, and submit to any expedient to prevent a lawsuit; I think an equal division will be the fairest way."* "Well mo-

* A treaty for preserving the balance of power in Europe, by a partition of the Spanish dominions. See "The Conduct of the Allies," vol. v. p. 13.

ved, old Lewis," quoth Frog; "and I hope my friend John here will not be refractory." At the same time he clapped me on the back, and slabbered me all over from cheek to cheek, with his great tongue. "Do as you please, gentlemen," quoth I, "'tis all one to John Bull." We agreed to part that night, and next morning to meet at the corner of lord Strutt's park-wall with our surveying instruments, which accordingly we did. Old Lewis carried a chain and a semicircle; Nic. paper, rulers, and a lead pencil; and I followed at some distance with a long pole. We began first with surveying the meadow grounds; afterwards we measured the corn-fields, close by close; then we proceeded to the woodlands, the copper and tin mines.* All this while Nic. laid down every thing exactly upon paper, calculated the acres and roods to a great nicety. When we had finished the land, we were going to break into the house and gardens to take an inventory of his plate, pictures, and other furniture.

Mrs Bull. What said lord Strutt to all this?

John Bull. As we had almost finished our concern, we were accosted by some of lord Strutt's servants: "Heyday! What's here? What a devil's the meaning of all these trangrams and gimcracks, gentlemen? What in the name of wonder are you going about, jumping over my master's hedges, and running your lines across his grounds? If you are at any field pastime, you might have asked leave; my master is a civil, well-bred person as any is."

Mrs Bull. What could you answer to this?

John Bull. Why truly my neighbour Frog and I

* The West Indies.

were still hotheaded; we told him his master was an old doating puppy, that minded nothing of his own business; that we were surveying his estate, and settling it for him, since he would not do it himself. Upon this there happened a quarrel, but we, being stronger than they, sent them away with a flea in their ear. They went home and told their master: * "My lord," said they, "there are three odd sort of fellows going about your grounds, with the strangest machines that ever we beheld in our life: I suppose they are going to rob your orchard, fell your trees, or drive away your cattle: they told us strange things of settling your estate: one is a lusty old fellow, in a black wig, with a black beard, without teeth: there's another thick squat fellow, in trunk-hose: the third is a little, long-nosed, thin man: (I was then lean, being just come out of a fit of sickness.) I suppose it is fit to send after them, lest they carry something away."

Mrs Bull. I fancy this put the old fellow in a rare tweek.

John Bull. Weak as he was, he called for his long toledo, swore and bounced about the room, "Sdeath! what am I come to, to be affronted so by my tradesmen? I know the rascals: my barber, clothier, and linendraper dispose of my estate! bring hither my blunderbuss. I'll warrant ye, you shall see daylight through them. Scoundrels! dogs! the scum of the earth! Frog, that was my father's kitchenboy! he pretend to meddle with my estate! with my will! Ah poor Strutt! what art thou come to at last? Thou hast lived

* This partition of the king of Spain's dominions was made without his consent, or even his knowledge.

too long in the world, to see thy age and infirmity so despised: how will the ghosts of my noble ancestors receive these tidings? They cannot, they must not sleep quietly in their graves." In short, the old gentleman was carried off in a fainting fit; and, after bleeding in both arms, hardly recovered.

Mrs Bull. Really this was a very extraordinary way of proceeding: I long to hear the rest of it.

John Bull. After we had come back to the tavern, and taken t'other bottle of Champagne, we quarrelled a little about the division of the estate. Lewis hauled and pulled the map on one side, and Frog and I on the other, till we had like to have torn the parchment to pieces. At last Lewis pulled out a pair of great tailors sheers, and clipped a corner for himself, which he said was a manor that lay convenient for him, and left Frog and me the rest to dispose of as we pleased. We were overjoyed to think Lewis was contented with so little, not smelling what was at the bottom of the plot. There happened, indeed, an incident that gave us some disturbance: a cunning fellow, one of my servants, two days after, peeping through the keyhole, observed, that old Lewis had stole away our part of the map, and saw him fiddling and turning the map from one corner to the other, trying to join the two pieces together again: he was muttering something to himself, which we did not well hear, only these words, "'Tis great pity, 'tis great pity!" My servant added, that he believed this had some ill meaning. I told him he was a coxcomb, always pretending to be wiser than his companions: Lewis and I are good friends, he's an honest fellow, and I dare say will stand to his bargain. The sequel of the story proved this fellow's suspicion

to be too well grounded; for Lewis revealed our whole secret to the deceased lord Strutt,* who, in reward to his treachery, and revenge to Frog and me, settled his whole estate upon the present

* It is suspected that the French king intended to take the whole, and that he revealed the secret to the court of Spain, upon which the will was made in favour of his grandson. Upon this point one of the authors of the time thus expresses himself.

"It is reasonable to believe the Spaniards themselves as to the influence the treaty had upon the will. Now all Europe knows what memorials the Spanish ministers have given every where, both before and since the last treaty, complaining of partitioning, as an unprecedented practice, against the laws of God and man; and as an indignity done them, which they would oppose and revenge with the last drop of their blood. Did not Don Quiros, several months before the treaty, (which shews the design of the treaty older than we pretend,) warn the States that there was no expedient imaginable, that could prevent the dismembering their monarchy, which they would not lay hold on. Nay that they would all arm from fifteen to sixty, rather than suffer it. And we know how bold the Marquis de Canalles made with that treaty here; for which, that is, for calling it by its true name, a detestable machination, he was commanded to go out of the kingdom. It's pity those for the thing should stay behind.

"But what need we other evidence? Will we not believe the king of Spain himself concerning his own will? It's true, you courtiers often order matters so, that men are shy to take a prince's word; but it were hard, Mr R. not to allow us to believe them when they are dying. Now that king, who, as the author of the letter owns, was highly displeased with the treaty, tells us in his will, that his chief obligation was to take care of the welfare of his subjects, which was to order matters so, that all his kingdoms might continue united. And, that he would never consent that a monarchy, founded by his ancestors, with so much glory, should be dismembered or diminished in any manner. Who can have patience with a writer, and indeed with the whole herd of the partitioners, who must have seen this, and yet tell us that the treaty did not give occasion to the will, but their fore-knowledge of the will gave birth to the treaty?

"It's a harder, or rather more dangerous question, whether our partitioners foresaw that the treaty would beget the will or not? I have told you that we coffeehouse statesmen did foresee it: it's

Philip Baboon. Then we understood what he meant by piecing the map.

Mrs Bull. And was you surprised at this? Had not lord Strutt reason to be angry? Would you have been contented to have been so used yourself?

John Bull. Why truly, wife, it was not easily reconciled to the common methods; but then it was the fashion to do such things. I have read of your golden age, your silver age, &c.: one might justly call this the age of lawyers. There was hardly a man of substance in all the country, but had a counterfeit that pretended to his estate.* As the philosophers say, that there is a duplicate of every terrestrial animal at sea, so it was in this age of the lawyers, there was at least two of every thing; nay, on my conscience, I think there were three esquire Hackums† at one time. In short, it was usual for a parcel of fellows to meet, and dispose of the whole estates in the country: "This lies convenient for me, Tom: thou wouldst do more good with that, Dick, than the old fellow that has it." So to law they went with the true owners; the lawyers got well by it; every body else was undone. It was a common thing for an honest man, when he came home at night, to find another fellow domineering in his family, hectoring his servants, calling for supper, and

but natural and modest, to suppose that men of business, true statesmen, have better eyes than we. If so, they were for the will. Those that are for the premises, and understand them, must be for the conclusion."—Account of the Debate in Town against the Partition-Treaty, *apud* State-Tracts during the reign of King William III. p. 96.

* Several pretenders at that time.

† Kings of Poland.

pretending to go to bed to his wife. In every house you might observe two Sosias quarrelling who was master. For my own part, I am still afraid of the same treatment, and that I should find somebody behind my counter, selling my broad cloth.

Mrs Bull. There is a sort of fellows, they call banterers and bamboozlers, that play such tricks; but it seems these fellows were in earnest.

John Bull. I begin to think, that justice is a better rule than conveniency, for all some people make so slight of it.

CHAP. VII.

*Of the hard shifts Mrs Bull was put to, to preserve the manor of Bullock's Hatch; with Sir Roger's method to keep off importunate duns.**

As John Bull and his wife were talking together, they were surprised with a sudden knocking at the door. "Those wicked scriveners and lawyers, no doubt," quoth John; and so it was: some asking for the money he owed, and others

* After the dissolution of the parliament, the sinking ministry endeavoured to support themselves by propagating a notion, that the public credit would suffer, if the Lord Treasurer Godolphin was removed: the dread of this event produced it: the monied men began to sell their shares in the bank; the governor, deputy governor, and two directors, applied to the queen to prevent the change: the alarm became general, and all the public funds gradually sunk. Perhaps, by Bullock's Hatch, the author meant the crown lands; or the public revenue in general.

warning to prepare for the approaching term. "What a cursed life do I lead!" quoth John. "Debt is like deadly sin; for God's sake, sir Roger, get me rid of the fellows." "I'll warrant you," quoth sir Roger; "leave them to me." And indeed it was pleasant enough to observe sir Roger's method with these importunate duns; his sincere friendship for John Bull made him submit to many things for his service, which he would have scorned to have done for himself. Sometimes he would stand at the door with his long staff to keep off the duns, till John got out at the back-door.* When the lawyers and tradesmen brought extravagant bills, sir Roger used to bargain beforehand for leave to cut off a quarter of a yard in any part of the bill he pleased: he wore a pair of scissars in his pocket for this purpose, and would snip it off so nicely as you cannot imagine. Like a true goldsmith, he kept all your holidays; there was not one wanting in his calendar: when ready money was scarce, he would set them a telling a thousand pounds in sixpences, groats, and three-penny pieces. It would have done your heart good to have seen him charge through an army of lawyers, attorneys, clerks, and tradesmen; sometimes with sword in hand, at other times nuzzling like an eel in the mud. When a fellow stuck like a bur, that there was no shaking him off, he used to be mighty inquisitive about the health of his uncles and aunts in the country; he could call them all by their names, for he knew every body, and could talk to them in their own way. The extremely impertinent he would send away to see some strange sight, as the dragon of

* Manners of the Earl of Oxford.

Hockley in the Hole; or bid him call the thirtieth of next February. Now and then you would see him in the kitchen, weighing the beef and butter; * paying ready money, that the maids might not run a tick at the market; and the butchers, by bribing them, sell damaged and light meat. Another time he would slip into the cellar, and gauge the casks. In his leisure minutes he was posting his books, and gathering in his debts. Such frugal methods were necessary, where money was so scarce, and duns so numerous. All this while John kept his credit, could show his head both at 'Change and Westminster-hall; no man protested his bill, nor refused his bond; only the sharpers and the scriveners, the lawyers and their clerks, pelted Sir Roger as he went along. The squinters were at it with their kennel-water, for they were mad for the loss of their bubble, and that they could not get him to mortgage the manor of Bullock's Hatch. Sir Roger shook his ears, and nuzzled along, well satisfied within himself, that he was doing a charitable work, in rescuing an honest man from the claws of harpies and bloodsuckers. Mrs Bull did all that an affectionate wife, and a good housewife, could do; yet the boundaries of virtues are indivisible lines; it is impossible to march up close to the frontiers of frugality, without entering the territories of parsimony. Your good housewives are apt to look into the minutest things; therefore some blamed Mrs Bull for new heel-piecing of her shoes, grudging a quarter of a pound of soap and sand to scour the rooms; † but especially, that she would not

* Some regulations as to the purveyance in the queen's family.

† Too great savings in the house of commons.

allow her maids and apprentices the benefit of John Bunyan, the London Apprentice, or the Seven Champions in the black letter.*

CHAP. VIII.

A Continuation of the Conversation between John Bull and his Wife.

Mrs Bull. It is a most sad life we lead, my dear, to be so teased, paying interest for old debts, and still contracting new ones. However, I don't blame you for vindicating your honour, and chastising old Lewis: to curb the insolent, protect the oppressed, recover one's own, and defend what one has, are good effects of the law: the only thing I want to know is, how you came to make an end of your money, before you finished your suit.

John Bull. I was told by the learned in the law, that my suit stood upon three firm pillars: more money for more law; more law for more money; and, no composition. More money for more law, was plain to a demonstration; for who can go to law without money? and it was plain, that any man that has money, may have law for it. The third was as evident as the other two; for what

* Restraining the liberty of the press by act of parliament, and imposing a stamp duty upon the pamphlets circulated by the hawkers. This measure never had Swift's approbation. Vol. v. p. 300.

composition could be made with a rogue, that never kept a word he said?

Mrs Bull. I think you are most likely to get out of this labyrinth by the second door, by want of ready money to purchase this precious commodity: but you seem not only to have bought too much of it, but have paid too dear for what you bought; else, how was it possible to run so much in debt, when at this very time, the yearly income of what is mortgaged to those usurers, would discharge Hocus's bills, and give you your bellyful of law for all your life, without running one sixpence in debt? You have been bred up to business; I suppose you can cipher: I wonder you never used your pen and ink.

John Bull. Now you urge me too far; prithee, dear wife, hold thy tongue. Suppose a young heir, heedless, raw, and unexperienced, full of spirit and vigour, with a favourite passion, in the hands of money-scriveners: such fellows are like your wiredrawing mills; if they get hold of a man's finger, they will pull in his whole body at last, till they squeeze the heart, blood, and guts out of him.* When I wanted money, half a dozen of these fellows were always waiting in my antichamber with their securities ready drawn. I was tempted with the ready; some farm or other went to pot. I received with one hand, and paid it away with the other to lawyers, that, like so many hell-hounds, were ready to devour me. Then the rogues would plead poverty, and scarcity of money, which always ended in receiving ninety for the hundred. After they had got possession of my best rents, they were able to supply

* Methods of preying upon the necessities of the government.

me with my own money. But what was worse, when I looked into the securities, there was no clause of redemption.

Mrs Bull. No clause of redemption, say you? that's hard.

John Bull. No great matter, for I cannot pay them. They had got a worse trick than that; the same man bought and sold to himself, paid the money, and gave the acquittance; the same man was butcher and grazier, brewer and butler, cook and poulterer. There is something still worse than all this; there came twenty bills upon me at once, which I had given money to discharge; I was like to be pulled to pieces by brewer, butcher, and baker; even my herb woman dunned me as I went along the streets. (Thanks to my friend Sir Roger, else I must have gone to gaol.) When I asked the meaning of this, I was told, the money went to the lawyers; counsel won't tick, sir; Hocus was urging: my book-keeper sat sotting all day, playing at put and all-fours:* in short, by griping usurers, devouring lawyers, and negligent servants, I am brought to this pass.

Mrs Bull. This was hard usage! but, methinks, the least reflection might have retrieved you.

John Bull. It is true: yet consider my circumstances; my honour was engaged, and I did not know how to get out; besides, I was for five years often drunk, always muddled; they carried me from tavern to tavern, to alehouses and brandy-shops, and brought me acquainted with such strange dogs!† “There goes the prettiest fel-

* The lord treasurer Godolphin was addicted to gambling and horse-racing.

† Hiring still more foreign troops.

low in the world," says one, "for managing a jury; make him yours. There's another can pick you up witnesses: serjeant such-a-one has a silver tongue at the bar." I believe, in time, I should have retained every single person within the inns of court. The night after a trial I treated the lawyers, their wives, and daughters, with fiddles, hautboys, drums, and trumpets. I was always hotheaded; then they placed me in the middle, the attorneys and their clerks dancing about me, whooping and hollowing, "Long live John Bull, the glory and support of the law."

Mrs Bull. Really, husband, you went through a very notable course.

John Bull. One of the things that first alarmed me, was, that they showed a spite against my poor old mother.* "Lord," quoth I, "what makes you so jealous of a poor, old, innocent gentlewoman, that minds only her prayers, and her Practice of Piety: she never meddles in any of your concerns?" "Foh," say they, "to see a handsome, brisk, genteel, young fellow, so much governed by a doating old woman! why don't you go and suck the bubby? Do you consider she keeps you out of a good jointure? She has the best of your estate settled upon her for a rent-charge: hang her, old thief, turn her out of doors, seize her land, and let her go to law if she dares." "Soft and fair, gentlemen," quoth I, "my mother's my mother; our family are not of an unnatural temper. Though I don't take all her advice, I won't seize her jointure; long may she enjoy it, good woman; I don't grudge it her; she allows me now and then a brace of hundreds for

* Railing against the church.

my lawsuit: that's pretty fair." About this time the old gentlewoman fell ill of an odd sort of a distemper: * it began with a coldness and numbness in her limbs, which by degrees affected the nerves (I think the physicians called them,) seized the brain, and at last ended in a lethargy. It betrayed itself at first in a sort of indifference and carelessness in all her actions, coldness to her best friends, and an aversion to stir or go about the common offices of life. She, that was the cleanliest creature in the world, never shrunk now, if you set a closestool under her nose. She, that would sometimes rattle off her servants pretty sharply, now, if she saw them drink, or heard them talk profanely, never took any notice of it. Instead of her usual charities to deserving persons, she threw away her money upon roaring, swearing bullies and beggars, that went about the streets. † "What is the matter with the old gentlewoman," said every body, "she never used to do in this manner?" At last the distemper grew more violent, and threw her downright into raving fits; ‡ in which she shrieked out so loud, that she disturbed the whole neighbourhood. In her fits she called upon one Sir William: § "Oh! Sir William, thou hast betrayed me! killed me! stabbed me! sold me to the cuckold of Doverstreet! See, see Clum with his bloody knife! || seize him, seize him, stop him! Behold the fury

* Carelessness in forms and discipline.

† Disposing of some preferments to libertine and unprincipled persons.

‡ The too violent clamour about the danger of the church.

§ Sir William, a cant name of Sir Humphry's for lord treasurer Godolphin.

|| Cromwell, perhaps.

with her hissing snakes ! Where's my son John ? Is he well, is he well ? poor man ! I pity him ;” * and abundance more of such strange stuff, that nobody could make any thing of. I knew little of the matter : for when I inquired about her health, the answer was, “ that she was in a good moderate way.” Physicians were sent for in haste : Sir Roger, with great difficulty, brought Ratcliff ; Garth came upon the first message. There were several others called in ; but, as usual upon such occasions, they differed strangely at the consultation. At last they divided into two parties, one sided with Garth, the other with Ratcliff. † Dr Garth : “ This case seems to me to be plainly hysterical ; the old woman is whimsical ; it is a common thing for your old women to be so ; I'll pawn my life, blisters, with the steel diet, will recover her.” Others suggested strong purging, and letting of blood, because she was plethoric. Some went so far as to say the old woman was mad, and nothing would be better than a little corporal correction. ‡ Ratcliff : “ Gentlemen, you are mistaken in this case ; it is plainly an acute distemper, and she cannot hold out three days, unless she is supported with strong cordials.” I came into the room with a good deal of concern, and asked them, what they thought of my mother ? “ In no manner of danger, I vow to Gad,” quoth

* The allusion is to the ravings of Sacheverel, who, in his celebrated sermon, foretold the downfall of episcopacy, from the measures of the Whig ministry.

† Garth, the low church party ; Ratcliff, the high church party ; such being the political attachments of these celebrated physicians.

‡ Many of the Whigs advised severe measures against the high church clergy. The imprudent prosecution of Sacheverel was the consequence of such counsel.

Garth, "the old woman is hysterical, fanciful, sir, I vow to Gad." "I tell you, sir," says Ratcliff, "she cannot live three days to an end, unless there is some very effectual course taken with her; she has a malignant fever." Then fool, puppy, and blockhead, were the best words they gave. I could hardly restrain them from throwing the inkbottles at one another's heads. I forgot to tell you, that one party of the physicians desired I would take my sister Peg into the house to nurse her, but the old gentlewoman would not hear of that. At last, one physician asked, if the lady had ever been used to take laudanum? Her maid answered, not that she knew; but indeed there was a High-German liveryman of hers, one Yan Ptschirnsooker,* that gave her a sort of quack powder. The physician desired to see it: "Nay," says he, "there is opium in this, I am sure."†

Mrs Bull. I hope you examined a little into this matter.

John Bull. I did, indeed, and discovered a great mystery of iniquity. The witnesses made oath, That they had heard some of the liverymen‡ frequently railing at their mistress. "They said, she was a troublesome, fiddlefaddle old woman, and so ceremonious, that there was no bearing of her. They were so plagued with bowing and cringing as they went in and out of the room, that their backs ached. She used to scold at one

* Yan Ptschirnsooker, a bishop at that time, a great dealer in politics and physic.

† Pastoral Letters of the celebrated Dr Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, were designed to operate as a sedative upon the violent irritation of the high churchmen.

‡ The clergy.

for his dirty shoes, at another for his greasy hair, and not combing his head: that she was so passionate and fiery in her temper, that there was no living with her; she wanted something to sweeten her blood: that they never had a quiet night's rest, for getting up in the morning to early sacraments; they wished they could find some way or another to keep the old woman quiet in her bed." Such discourses were often overheard among the liverymen, while the said Yan Ptschirnsooker had undertaken this matter. A maid made affidavit, "That she had seen the said Yan Ptschirnsooker, one of the liverymen, frequently making up of medicines, and administering them to all the neighbours; that she saw him one morning make up the powder, which her mistress took; that she had the curiosity to ask him, whence he had the ingredients?" "They come," says he, "from several parts of de world; dis I have from Geneva, dat from Rome, dis white powder from Amsterdam, and de red from Edinburgh; but de chief ingredient of all comes from Turkey." It was likewise proved, that the same Yan Ptschirnsooker had been frequently seen at the Rose with Jack, who was known to bear an inveterate spite to his mistress.* That he brought a certain powder to his mistress, which the examinant believes to be the same, and spoke the following words: "Madam, here is grand secret van de world, my sweetning powder, it does temperate de humour, despel de wint, and cure de vapour; it lullet and quietet de animal spirits, procuring rest and pleasant dreams: it is de in-

* Bishop Burnet belonged to a presbyterian family, and was often upbraided with this circumstance!

fallible receipt for de scurvy, all heats in de blood, and breaking out upon de skin: it is de true blood-stancher, stopping all fluxes of de blood: if you do take dis, you will never ail any ding; it will cure you of all diseases:" and abundance more to this purpose, which the examinant does not remember.

John Bull was interrupted in his story by a porter, that brought him a letter from Nicholas Frog, which is as follows.

CHAP. IX.

*A Copy of Nic. Frog's Letter to John Bull.**

[John Bull reads.]

FRIEND JOHN,

"WHAT Schellum is this, that makes thee jealous of thy old friend Nicholas? Hast thou for-

* The letter here produced was written by the States in defence of the Barrier Treaty, to the Queen of Great Britain, wherein they represented, "That during the whole course of her majesty's glorious reign, they have had nothing more at heart, than to cultivate and maintain with her a good friendship, perfect confidence, and union, and to corroborate them the most they possibly could; having always judged them absolutely necessary, and especially in the present conjuncture. That they likewise judged they could not give a better proof of this their disposition and persuasion, than that which they lately gave in agreeing to the proposition which her majesty had caused to be made to them, to begin the negotiation of a general peace with the enemy, and in concurring with her majesty to facilitate the bringing together of the mini-

got how some years ago he took thee out of the sponging-house?"* ["Tis true my friend Nic. did

sters of all the high allies to the congress at Utrecht. That they are persuaded nothing can more contribute to the dispatch and success of that negotiation, than a strict union and entire harmony between her majesty and their state. That as they had the honour to conclude with her majesty, the 29th of October, 1709, the treaty of mutual guaranty, commonly called the Barrier Treaty, ratified on both sides in the most authentic form, they looked upon it not only as a foundation of their own safety, for securing which they entered into the present war, and have carried it on so many years, but likewise as a firm support of that good understanding and union between her majesty and their state, which they so earnestly and sincerely desire to see continued; so that they could never doubt, in any manner, that they should not at all times enjoy the effect of the said treaty. That, however, having not long since been informed that in England some were of opinion that the said treaty, in some articles, might be prejudicial to her majesty's subjects, they commanded M. Buys, their envoy extraordinary, then going to England, to inquire what those points were, that might be thought grievances, and authorised him to treat about them with her majesty's ministers, and to remove, if possible, the difficulties, by all the explanations that should appear necessary; which they were put in hopes would not be very hard to do, when once they should have consented to concur with her majesty, as they did, to procure a congress for the negotiation of a general peace. But that the misfortune was, that the said M. Buys, during his residence in England, was not able to finish that affair to reciprocal satisfaction; and that it having been remitted to the Hague, no way has hitherto been found to terminate it there neither; though their high mightinesses think they have shewn all the readiness to comply with any just expedient that could reasonably be expected from them. For having learnt that the principal exceptions taken to the said treaty were, that it might prove prejudicial to the commerce of her majesty's subjects in the Spanish Netherlands, and that some had entertained an ill-grounded and erroneous opinion, that the states might design to take advantage by it, to make themselves masters of the said Spanish Netherlands; their high mightinesses did declare, positively, and by this letter do voluntarily repeat it, that it never was their intention, nor ever will be, to make use of the said treaty,

* Alluding to the revolution.

so, and I thank him; but he made me pay a swingeing reckoning.] "Thou beginn'st now to

or of their garrisons in the fortified places of the country, to prejudice, in any manner, the commerce of her majesty's subjects; but that their opinion is, that whatever relates to navigation and commerce there, ought to be settled on an entire equality, that so her majesty's subjects may not be charged with higher duties of importation or exportation than theirs, to the end commerce may be carried on there by both nations on an equal foot. That their high mightinesses did declare, and do declare again by this letter, that they never had a thought, nor have now, of making themselves masters of the Spanish Netherlands, in whole or in part; contenting themselves to have garrisons in the places mentioned in the 6th article, with the revenues specified in the 11th article, and what is stipulated by the others, separate from the said treaty. That besides, they have not the least thought of making use of the privilege stipulated in the 7th article, to put troops into other places, but only in case of the last and most apparent necessity. That they hope by this positive declaration, to have the happiness to remove all those suspicions which may wrongfully have been conceived against them; and that they have firm confidence in her majesty's so renowned equity, that she will not do any thing in prejudice of the said treaty, nor permit any to be done to it; but rather that she will be pleased to see that they may have the entire effect of it, and take off all uneasiness they may be in about it; which they most earnestly desire of her majesty. Adding, that if there be some articles of the said treaty, which, without affecting the essentials of it, may be thought to want explanation, her majesty shall find them willing and ready to treat thereupon, and with all the facility and condescension that can reasonably be required of them, without doing prejudice to the rights they have acquired, not only by the said treaty, but by other preceding ones, and in whatever shall not be of the last importance for the security and preservation of their state. Concluding, with intreating her majesty, to continue towards them that very precious friendship and goodwill, with which she has hitherto honoured them; and with beseeching God to shower on her his choicest blessings," &c. This letter, which was soon after made public, did wonderfully reconcile the states-general to the generality of the people, since it thereby appeared, that they were sincerely ready to rectify any thing in the Barrier Treaty, which might seem prejudicial to the trade of Great Britain: but it had little or no effect where it was intended."—*Annals of Queen Anne's Reign. Year the tenth, Lond. 1712, p. 348—351.*

repent thy bargain, that thou wast so fond of; and if thou durst, would'st forswear thy own hand and seal. Thou say'st, that thou hast purchased me too great an estate already; when at the same time, thou know'st I have only a mortgage: 'tis true, I have possession, and the tenants own me for master; but has not esquire South the equity of redemption?" [No doubt, and will redeem it very speedily; poor Nic. has only possession, eleven points of the law.] "As for the turnpikes* I have set up, they are for other people, not for my friend John; I have ordered my servant constantly to attend, to let thy carriages through without paying any thing; only I hope thou wilt not come too heavy laden to spoil my ways. Certainly I have just cause of offence against thee, my friend, for supposing it possible that thou and I should ever quarrel: what hounds-foot is it that puts these whims in thy head? Ten thousand last of devils haul me, if I don't love thee as I love my life." [No question, as the devil loves holy water!] "Does not thy own hand and seal oblige thee to purchase for me, till I say it is enough? Are not these words plain? I say, it is not enough. Dost thou think thy friend Nicholas Frog made a child's bargain? Mark the words of thy contract, *totâ pecuniâ*, with all thy money." [Very well! I have purchased with my own money, my children's, and my grandchildren's money, is not that enough? Well, *totâ pecuniâ* let it be, for at present I have none at all: he would not have me purchase with other people's money sure? since *totâ pecuniâ* is the bargain, I think it is plain, no more money, no more purchase.] "And whatever the world may say, Nicholas

* The Dutch prohibition of trade.

Frog is but a poor man in comparison of the rich, the opulent John Bull, great clothier of the world. I have had many losses, six of my best sheep were drowned, and the water has come into my cellar, and spoiled a pipe of my best brandy : it would be a more friendly act in thee to carry a brief about the country to repair the losses of thy poor friend.* Is it not evident to all the world, that

* If this *argumentum febile* was not distinctly made by the States, it did not escape their advocates in Britain, one of whom thus states it :

“ The next objection against the conduct of the States, is this, That they permitted their subjects, even during the war, to have an open trade with France, by which they grew rich, whilst we were impoverished.

“ Now, as to matter of fact, 'tis true, that a great many ships sailing with French passes, did take in wine and brandy at Bourdeaux, Rochel, and other places, and sell them again in Holland : this is confessed, and yet I am not without hopes of satisfying you, that this matter deserves not so great a noise and clamour as has been made about it.

“ I would, in the first place, recommend it to your consideration, that our circumstances are vastly different from those of the Dutch, and that we stand not in need of foreign liquors, as they do : you, sir, have your cellar crowded with October, and may drink a bumper to the church and queen out of the product of your own land ; but 'tis otherwise with the poor Hollanders : they have no liquors to drink, but such as are imported from other countries, or the grain that makes 'em ; nay, they have not so much as good clear water of their own. Pray, then, from whence should they be supplied ? Not from the Rhine, as formerly, the poor Germans inhabiting the banks of that noble river, being forced to leave their vineyards uncultivated, and convert their pruning-hooks into swords and spears, to defend their own throats from an inhuman enemy ; not from us Britons, we love the juice of barley too well ourselves to spare much to others. So that these people seem to be under a necessity of importing French wine, unless you would have 'em content with sopping puddle out of their own ditches. I might add, that their foggy air and ill diet renders 'em more excusable. I grant, that a chop of your mutton, or a slice of roast-beef, may sit pretty warm and comfortable in a man's stomach, though wash'd down

I am still hemmed in by Lewis Baboon? Is he not just upon my borders?" [And so he will be, if I purchase a thousand acres more, unless he get somebody between them.] "I tell thee, friend John, thou hast flatterers, that persuade thee that thou art a man of business; do not believe them; if thou would'st still leave thy affairs in my hands, thou should'st see how handsomely I would deal by thee. That ever thou should'st be dazzled with the enchanted islands, and mountains of gold, that old Lewis promises thee! 'Dswounds! why dost thou not lay out thy money to purchase a place at court, of honest Israel? I tell thee, thou must not so much as think of a composition." [Not think of a composition, that's hard indeed: I can't help thinking of it, if I would.] "Thou complain'st of want of money; let thy wife and daughters burn the gold lace off their petticoats; sell thy fat cattle; retrench but a sirloin of beef and peck-loaf in a week from thy gormandizing guts." [Retrench my beef, a dog!

only with small beer; but were you to dine with a Dutchman upon raw cabbage, or a platter of cold sallad, you would be apt to look upon a glass of Bourdeaux, or bright Champaign, as very requisite to correct the crudities of such a meal. The observation of Sir William Temple is pretty suitable to my present purpose: speaking of the people, 'Their great foreign consumption,' says he, 'is French wine and brandy, but that may be allowed them, as the only reward they enjoy of all their pains.'* To all which I might add, that by these liquors, brought from France, our armies in Flanders were supplied, and had you lain but one September night in the trenches, up to your knees in dirt and mud, you would not think a dram or two of Nauts ill bestowed upon those brave fellows, who are every moment looking ten thousand dangers in the face."—*The Dutch better Friends than the French, to the Monarchy, Church, and Trade of England.* London, 1713, p. 16.

* Observations on the United Provinces, p. 209.

Retrench my beef! then it is plain the rascal has an ill design upon me, he would starve me.] "Mortgage thy manor of Bullock's Hatch, or pawn thy crop for ten years." [A rogue! part with my country-seat, my patrimony, all that I have left in the world; I'll see him hanged first.] "Why hast thou changed thy attorney? Can any man manage thy cause better for thee?"* [Very pleasant! because a man has a good attorney, he must never make an end of his lawsuit.] "Ah John! John! I wish thou knew'st thy own mind; thou art as fickle as the wind. I tell thee, thou hadst better let this composition alone, or leave it to thy

"Loving friend,

"NIC. FROG."

CHAP. X.

Of some extraordinary Things, † that passed at the Salutation Tavern, in the Conference between Bull, Frog, Esquire South, and Lewis Baboon.

FROG had given his word, that he would meet the above-mentioned company at the Salutation to talk of this agreement. Though he durst not directly break his appointment, he made many a

* The recal of the Duke of Marlborough, and substitution of Ormond in his command, was complained of by the States.

† The treaty of Utrecht: the difficulty to get them to meet. When met, the Dutch would not speak their sentiments, nor the French deliver in their proposals. The house of Austria talked very high.

shuffling excuse; one time he pretended to be seized with the gout in his right knee; then he got a great cold, that had struck him deaf of one ear; afterward two of his coach horses fell sick, and he durst not go by water for fear of catching an ague. John would take no excuse, but hurried him away: "Come, Nic." says he, "let's go and hear at least what this old fellow has to propose! I hope there's no hurt in that." "Be it so," quoth Nic. "but if I catch any harm, woe be to you; my wife and children will curse you as long as they live." When they were come to the Salutation, John concluded all was sure then, and that he should be troubled no more with law affairs; he thought every body as plain and sincere as he was.* "Well, neighbours," quoth he, "let's now make an end of all matters, and live peaceably together for the time to come; if every body is as well inclined as I, we shall quickly come to the upshot of our affair." And so pointing to Frog to say something, to the great surprise of all the company, Frog was seized with the dead palsy in the tongue. John began to ask him some plain questions, and whooped and hollowed in his ear. "Let's come to the point, Nic! Who wouldest thou have to be lord Strutt? Wouldest thou have Philip Baboon?" Nic. shook his head, and said nothing. "Wilt thou then have esquire South to be lord Strutt?" Nic. shook his head a second time. "Then who the devil wilt thou have? say something or another." Nic. opened his mouth, and pointed to his tongue, and

* The Congress was opened by a speech from the Bishop of Bristol, Lord Privy Seal, recommending a frank communication on the subject of debate.

cried, "A, a, a, a!" which was as much as to say, he could not speak. John Bull.—"Shall I serve Philip Baboon with broad-cloth, and accept of the composition that he offers, with the liberty of his parks and fish-ponds?" Then Nic. roared like a bull, "O, o, o, o!" John Bull.—"If thou wilt not let me have them, wilt thou take them thyself?" Then Nic. grinned, cackled, and laughed, till he was like to kill himself, and seemed to be so pleased, that he fell a frisking and dancing about the room. John Bull.—"Shall I leave all this matter to thy management, Nic. and go about my business?" Then Nic. got up a glass, and drank to John, shaking him by the hand, till he had like to have shook his shoulder out of joint. John Bull.—"I understand thee, Nic. but I shall make thee speak before I go." Then Nic. put his finger in his cheek, and made it cry Buck; which was as much as to say, I care not a farthing for thee. John Bull.—"I have done, Nic. if thou wilt not speak, I'll make my own terms with old Lewis here." Then Nic. lolled out his tongue, and turned up his bum to him; which was as much as to say, kiss—

John perceiving that Frog would not speak, turns to old Lewis: "Since we cannot make this obstinate fellow speak, Lewis, pray condescend a little to his humour, and set down thy meaning upon paper, that he may answer it in another scrap." *

"I am infinitely sorry," quoth Lewis, "that it happens so unfortunately; for playing a little

* The French ministers shewed great reluctance to give in their offers or project for a general peace.

at cudgels t'other day, a fellow has given me such a rap over the right arm, that I am quite lame: I have lost the use of my forefinger and my thumb, so that I cannot hold my pen."

John Bull. "That's all one, let me write for you."

Lewis. "But I have a misfortune, that I cannot read any body's hand but my own."

John Bull. "Try what you can do with your left hand."

Lewis. "That's impossible; it will make such a scrawl, that it will not be legible."

As they were talking of this matter, in came esquire South, all dressed up in feathers and ribbands, stark staring mad, brandishing his sword, as if he would have cut off their heads; crying, "Room, room, boys, for the grand esquire of the world! the flower of esquires! * What! covered in my presence? I'll crush your souls, and crack you like lice!" With that he had like to have struck John Bull's hat into the fire; but John, who was pretty strong-fisted, gave him such a squeeze as made his eyes water. He went on still in his mad pranks; "When I am lord of the universe, the sun shall prostrate and adore me! Thou, Frog, shalt be my bailiff; Lewis my tailor; and thou, John Bull, shalt be my fool!"

All this while Frog laughed in his sleeve, gave the esquire t'other noggin of brandy, and clapped him on the back, which made him ten times madder.

* The archduke was now become emperor of Germany, being unanimously elected upon the death of Joseph the First. His ministers stood high upon points of form, and particularly objected to the term, "Ambassadors of the House of Austria," as derogatory to his Imperial Majesty.

Poor John stood in amaze, talking thus to himself: "Well, John, thou art got into rare company! One has a dumb devil, t'other a mad devil, and the third a spirit of infirmity. An honest man has a fine time on't among such rogues. What art thou asking of them, after all? Some mighty boon one would think! only to sit quietly at thy own fireside. 'Sdeath, what have I to do with such fellows! John Bull, after all his losses and crosses, can live better without them, than they can without him. Would to God I lived a thousand leagues off them! but the devil's in't, John Bull is in, and John Bull must get out as well as he can."

As he was talking to himself, he observed Frog and old Lewis edging toward one another to whisper;* so that John was forced to sit with his arms a kimbo to keep them asunder.

Some people advised John to blood Frog under the tongue, or take away his bread and butter, which would certainly make him speak; to give esquire South hellebore; as for Lewis, some were for emollient poultices, others for opening his arm with an incision-knife. †

* Some attempts of secret negotiation between the French and the Dutch. The Mareschal D'Uxelles assured the Lord Privy Seal, that the States were endeavouring to enter into separate measures with the king of France. See Vol. V. p. 352.

† In the early editions is added the following allusion to the interest which Oxford endeavoured, by his kinsman Harley, and others, to make at the court of Hanover, for detaching the elector from the emperor and the States.

"I could not obtain from Sir Humphrey at this time a copy of John's letter which he sent to his nephew by the young necromancer, wherein he advises him not to eat butter and ham, or drink old hock in a morning with the esquire and Frog, for fear of giving him a sour breath."

LAW IS A BOTTOMLESS PIT;

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF

JOHN BULL.

PART FOURTH.

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1712.

THE
HISTORY
OF
JOHN BULL.

PART FOURTH.

CHAP. I.*

*The Apprehending, Examination, and Imprisonment
of Jack for Suspicion of Poisoning.*

THE attentive reader cannot have forgot, that the story of Yan Ptschirnsooker's powder was interrupted by a message from Frog. I have a natural compassion for curiosity, being much troubled with the distemper myself; therefore to

* The receiving the holy sacrament, as administered by the church of England, once at least in every year, having been made a necessary qualification for places of trust and profit, many of the dissenters came to the altar merely for this purpose. A bill to prevent this practice had been three times brought into the house and rejected, under the title of "A bill to prevent Occasional Conformity." But the earl of Nottingham having brought it in a fourth time under another name, and with the addition of such clauses as were said to enlarge the toleration, and to be a farther security to the protestant succession, the Whigs, whose cause the

gratify that uneasy itching sensation in my reader, I have procured the following account of that matter.

Yan Ptschirnsooker came off (as rogues usually do upon such occasions) by peaching his partner; and being extremely forward to bring him to the gallows.* Jack was accused as the contriver of all the roguery.† And indeed it happened unfortunately for the poor fellow, that he was known to bear a most inveterate spite against the old gentlewoman; and consequently, that never any ill accident happened to her, but he was suspected to be at the bottom of it. If she pricked her finger, Jack, to be sure, laid the pin in the way; if some noise in the street disturbed her rest, who could it be but Jack in some of his nocturnal rambles? If a servant ran away, Jack had debauched him: every idle tittle-tattle that went about, Jack was always suspected for the author of it: however, all was nothing to this last affair of the tempering, moderating powder.

The hue and cry went after Jack to apprehend him dead or alive, wherever he could be found. The constables looked out for him in all his usual

earl then appeared to espouse, were persuaded to concur: some, because they were indeed willing that the bill should pass, and others, because they believed the earl of Oxford would at last procure it to be thrown out. The four following chapters contain the history of this transaction.

* Bishop Burnet, from a passage in his *Memoirs*, appears to have given way to the bill against Occasional Conformity, by way of experiment, to try how far it would quiet the alarms of those who thought the church was in danger, and induce them to join with the Whigs in civil politics.

† All the misfortunes of the church charged upon the presbyterian party.

haunts ; but to no purpose. Where d'ye think they found him at last ? Even smoking his pipe very quietly at his brother Martin's ! from whence he was carried with a vast mob at his heels before the worshipful Mr justice Overdo. Several of his neighbours made oath, that of late the prisoner had been observed to lead a very dissolute life, renouncing even his usual hypocrisy, and pretences to sobriety : * that he frequented taverns and eating-houses, and had been often guilty of drunkenness and gluttony at my lord mayor's table : that he had been seen in the company of lewd women : that he had transferred his usual care of the engrossed copy of his father's will, to bank-bills, orders for tallies, and debentures : † these he now affirmed, with more literal truth, to be meat, drink, and cloth, the philosopher's stone, and the universal medicine : ‡ that he was so far from allowing his customary reverence to the will, that he kept company with those, that called his father a cheating rogue, and his will a forgery : § that he not only sat quietly and heard his father railed at, but often chimed in with the discourse, and hugged the authors as his bosom friends : || That, instead of asking for blows at the corners of the streets, he now bestowed them as plentifully as he begged them before. ¶ In short, that he was grown a mere rake ; and had

* The manners of the dissenters changed from their former strictness.

† Dealing much in stock-jobbing.

‡ Tale of a Tub.

§ Herding with deists and atheists.

|| Tale of a Tub.

¶ The mobbing and persecuting the episcopal clergy in Scotland by the more violent presbyterians.

nothing left in him of old Jack, except his spite to John Bull's mother.

Another witness made oath, That Jack had been overheard bragging of a trick* he had found out to manage the old formal jade, as he used to call her. "Damn this numbskull of mine," quoth he, "that I could not light on it sooner. As long as I go in this ragged tattered coat, I am so well known, that I am hunted away from the old woman's door by every barking cur about the house; they bid me defiance. There's no doing mischief as an open enemy; I must find some way or other of getting within doors, and then I shall have better opportunities of playing my pranks, beside the benefit of good keeping."

Two witnesses swore, † that several years ago, there came to their mistress's door a young fellow in a tattered coat, that went by the name of Timothy Trim, ‡ whom they did in their conscience believe to be the very prisoner, resembling him in shape, stature, and the features of his countenance: that the said Timothy Trim being taken into the family, clapped their mistress's livery over his own tattered coat: that the said Timothy was extremely officious about their mistress's person, endeavouring by flattery and talebearing to set her against the rest of the servants: nobody was so ready to fetch any thing

* Getting into places and church preferments by occasional conformity.

† Betraying the interests of the church, when got into preferments.

‡ The low church party arose towards the end of Charles the Second's reign. They were called Trimmers by the high church clergy, and upbraided with their indifference as to those forms which distinguished the church of England from presbyterians and sectaries.

that was wanted, to reach what was dropped: that he used to shove and elbow his fellow-servants to get near his mistress, especially when money was a paying or receiving; then he was never out of the way: that he was extremely diligent about every body's business but his own: that the said Timothy, while he was in the family, used to be playing roguish tricks; when his mistress's back was turned, he would loll out his tongue, make mouths, and laugh at her, walking behind her like harlequin, ridiculing her motions and gestures; but if his mistress looked about, he put on a grave, demure countenance, as if he had been in a fit of devotion: that he used often to trip up stairs so smoothly, that you could not hear him tread, and put all things out of order: that he would pinch the children and servants, when he met them in the dark, so hard, that he left the print of his forefinger and his thumb in black and blue, and then slink into a corner, as if nobody had done it: out of the same malicious design he used to lay chairs and jointstools in their way, that they might break their noses by falling over them: the more young and unexperienced he used to teach to talk saucily, and call names: during his stay in the family, there was much plate missing; being caught with a couple of silver spoons in his pocket, with their handles wrenched off, he said, he was only going to carry them to the goldsmiths to be mended: that the said Timothy was hated by all the honest servants for his ill-conditioned, splenetic tricks, but especially for his slanderous tongue; traducing them to their mistress, as drunkards, thieves, and whoremasters; that the said Timothy by lying stories used to set all the family together by the ears, taking delight to make them fight and

quarrel ; particularly one day sitting at table, he spoke words to this effect : “ I am of opinion,” quoth he, “ that little short fellows, such as we are, have better hearts, and could beat the tall fellows : I wish it came to a fair trial ; I believe these long fellows, as sightly as they are, should find their jackets well thwacked.” *

A parcel of tall fellows, who thought themselves affronted by the discourse, took up the quarrel, and to't they went, the tall men and the low men, which continues still a faction in the family to the great disorder of our mistress's affairs : the said Timothy carried this frolic so far, that he proposed to his mistress, that she should entertain no servant, that was above four foot seven inches high : and for that purpose had prepared a gage, by which they were to be measured. The good old gentlewoman was not so simple, as to go into his project ; she began to smell a rat. “ This Trim,” quoth she, “ is an odd sort of a fellow ; methinks he makes a strange figure with that ragged, tattered coat, appearing under his livery ; can't he go spruce and clean like the rest of the servants ? the fellow has a roguish leer with him, which I don't like by any means ; besides, he has such a twang in his discourse, and an ungraceful way of speaking through his nose, that one can hardly understand him ; I wish the fellow be not tainted with some bad disease.” The witnesses farther made oath, that the said Timothy lay out a-nights, and went abroad often at unseasonable hours ; and it was credibly reported, he did business in another fa-

* The original of the distinction in the names of low churchmen and high churchmen.

mily : that he pretended to have a squeamish stomach, and could not eat at table with the rest of the servants, though this was but a pretence to provide some nice bit for himself ; that he refused to dine upon salt fish, only to have an opportunity to eat a calf's head (his favourite dish,) in private ; that for all his tender stomach, when he was got by himself, he could devour capons, turkeys, and sirloins of beef like a cormorant.*

Two other witnesses gave the following evidence : That in his officious attendance upon his mistress, he had tried to slip a powder into her drink ; and that he was once caught endeavouring to stifle her with a pillow as she was asleep : that he and Ptschirnsooker were often in close conference, and that they used to drink together at the Rose, where it seems he was well enough known by his true name of Jack.

The prisoner had little to say in his defence ; he endeavoured to prove himself alibi ; so that the trial turned upon this single question, whether the said Timothy Trim and Jack were the same person ? which was proved by such plain tokens, and particularly by a mole under the left pap, that there was no withstanding the evidence ; therefore the worshipful Mr Justice committed him, in order to his trial.

* The high churchmen objected to their antagonists a dislike of the church ritual and form of communion ; a neglect of her fasts and festivals, and an inclination to republicanism.

CHAP. II.

How Jack's Friends came to visit him in Prison, and what Advice they gave him.

JACK hitherto had passed in the world for a poor, simple, well-meaning, half-witted, crack-brained fellow. People were strangely surprised to find him in such a roguery; that he should disguise himself under a false name, hire himself out for a servant to an old gentlewoman, only for an opportunity to poison her. They said, that it was more generous to profess open enmity, than under a profound dissimulation to be guilty of such a scandalous breach of trust, and of the sacred rites of hospitality. In short, the action was universally condemned by his best friends; they told him in plain terms, that this was come as a judgment upon him for his loose life, his gluttony, drunkenness, and avarice; for laying aside his father's will in an old mouldy trunk, and turning stockjobber, newsmonger, and busy-body, meddling with other people's affairs, shaking off his old serious friends, and keeping company with buffoons and pickpockets, his father's sworn enemies: that he had best throw himself upon the mercy of the court; repent, and change his manners. To say truth, Jack heard these discourses with some compunction; however, he resolved to try what his new acquaintance would do for him: they sent Habbakkuk Slyboots,*

* Habbakkuk Slyboots, a certain great man who persuaded the dissenters to consent to the bill against occasional conformity, as being for their interest.

who delivered him the following message, at the peremptory commands of his trusty companions.

Habbakkuk. Dear Jack, I am sorry for thy misfortune: matters have not been carried on with due secrecy; however we must make the best of a bad bargain: thou art in the utmost jeopardy, that's certain; hang, draw, and quarter, are the gentlest things they talk of. However, thy faithful friends, ever watchful for thy security, bid me tell thee, that they have one infallible expedient left to save thy life: thou must know, we have got into some understanding with the enemy, by the means of Don Diego; he assures us there is no mercy for thee, and that there is only one way left to escape; it is indeed somewhat out of the common road; however, be assured it is the result of most mature deliberation.

Jack. Prithee tell me quickly, for my heart is sunk down into the very bottom of my belly.

Hab. It is the unanimous opinion of your friends, that you make as if you hanged yourself;* they will give it out that you are quite dead, and convey your body out of prison in a bier; and John Bull being busied with his lawsuit, will not inquire farther into the matter.

Jack. How d'ye mean, make as if I hanged myself?

Hab. Nay, you must really hang yourself up, in a true genuine rope, that there may appear no trick in it, and leave the rest to your friends.

Jack. Truly this is a matter of some concern; and my friends, I hope, won't take it ill, if I inquire a little into the means by which they intend

* Consent to the bill against occasional conformity.

to deliver me : a rope and a noose are no jesting matters !

Hab. Why so mistrustful ? hast thou ever found us false to thee ? I tell thee, there is one ready to cut thee down.

Jack. May I presume to ask who it is, that is intrusted with so important an office ?

Hab. Is there no end of thy hows and thy whys ? That's a secret.

Jack. A secret, perhaps, that I may be safely trusted with, for I am not likely to tell it again. I tell you plainly, it is no strange thing for a man, before he hangs himself up, to inquire who is to cut him down.

Hab. Thou suspicious creature ! if thou must needs know it, I tell thee it is Sir Roger :* he has been in tears ever since thy misfortune. Don Diego and we have laid it so, that he is to be in the next room, and before the rope is well about thy neck, rest satisfied, he will break in and cut thee down : fear not, old boy ; we'll do it, I'll warrant thee.

Jack. So I must hang myself up upon hopes that Sir Roger will cut me down, and all this upon the credit of Don Diego : a fine stratagem indeed to save my life, that depends upon hanging, Don Diego, and Sir Roger.

Hab. I tell thee there is a mystery in all this, my friend, a piece of profound policy ; if thou knewest what good this will do to the common cause, thy heart would leap for joy : I am sure

* It was given out that the Earl of Oxford would oppose the occasional bill, and so lose his credit with the Tories ; and the dissenters did believe he would not suffer it to pass.

thou wouldst not delay the experiment one moment.

Jack. That is to the tune of, All for the better. What's your cause to me when I am hanged?

Hab. Refractory mortal! if thou wilt not trust thy friends, take what follows: know assuredly, before next full moon, that thou wilt be hung up in chains, or thy quarters perching upon the most conspicuous places in the kingdom. Nay I don't believe they will be contented with hanging; they talk of empaling, or breaking on the wheel: and thou choosest that, before a gentle suspending of thyself for one minute!* Hanging is not so painful a thing as thou imaginest. I have spoke with several, that have undergone it; they all agree it is no manner of uneasiness; be sure thou take good notice of the symptoms, the relation will be curious. It is but a kick or two with thy heels, and a wry mouth or so: Sir Roger will be with thee in the twinkling of an eye.

Jack. But what if Sir Roger should not come, will my friends be there to succour me?

Hab. Doubt it not; I will provide every thing against to-morrow morning; do thou keep thy own secret; say nothing: I tell thee, it is absolutely necessary for the common good, that thou shouldst go through this operation.

* Undoubtedly the principal motive which induced the Dissenters to give way to the proposed bill, was the reasonable apprehension that the Tory power, then in its zenith, was strong enough to introduce yet harsher provisions against them.

CHAP. II.

How Jack hanged himself up by the persuasion of his Friends, who broke their words, and left his neck in the noose.

JACK was a professed enemy to implicit faith, and yet I dare say, it was never more strongly exerted, nor more basely abused, than upon this occasion. He was now with his old friends, in the state of a poor disbanded officer after a peace, or rather a wounded soldier after a battle; like an old favourite of a cunning minister after the job is over: or a decayed beauty to a cloyed lover in quest of new game; or like a hundred such things, that one sees every day. There were new intrigues, new views, new projects on foot; Jack's life was the purchase of Diego's friendship,* much good may it do them. The interest of Hocus and Sir William Crawley,† which was now more at heart, made this operation upon poor Jack absolutely necessary. You may easily guess, that his rest that night was but small, and much disturbed; however, the remaining part of his time he did not employ (as his custom was formerly) in prayer, meditation, or singing a double verse of a psalm; but amused himself with disposing of his bank-stock. Many a doubt, many a qualm, overspread his clouded imagination:

* The Earl of Nottingham made the concurrence of the Whigs to bring in and carry this bill one of the conditions of his engaging in their cause.

† Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin.

"Must I then," quoth he, "hang up my own personal, natural, individual self, with these two hands? *Durus sermo!* What if I should be cut down, as my friends tell me? There is something infamous in the very attempt; the world will conclude, I had a guilty conscience. Is it possible that good man, Sir Roger, can have so much pity upon an unfortunate scoundrel, that has persecuted him so many years? No, it cannot be; I don't love favours that pass through Don Diego's hands. On the other side, my blood chills about my heart at the thought of these rogues, with their bloody hands grabbling in my guts, and pulling out my very entrails: hang it, for once I'll trust my friends." So Jack resolved; but he had done more wisely to have put himself upon the trial of his country, and made his defence in form; many things happen between the cup and the lip; witnesses might have been bribed, juries managed, or prosecution stopped. But so it was, Jack for this time had a sufficient stock of implicit faith, which led him to his ruin, as the sequel of the story shows.

And now the fatal day was come, in which he was to try this hanging experiment. His friends did not fail him at the appointed hour to see it put in practice. Habbakkuk brought him a smooth, strong, tough rope, made of many a ply of wholesome Scandinavian hemp, compactly twisted together, with a noose that slipt as glib as a birdcatcher's gin. Jack shrunk and grew pale at first sight of it; he handled it, measured it, stretched it, fixed it against the iron bar of the window to try its strength; but no familiarity could reconcile him to it. He found fault with the length, the thickness, and the twist; nay, the very colour did not please him. "Will

nothing less than hanging serve?" quoth Jack. "Won't my enemies take bail for my good behaviour? Will they accept of a fine, or be satisfied with the pillory and imprisonment, a good round whipping, or burning in the cheek?"

Hab. Nothing but your blood will appease their rage; make haste, else we shall be discovered. There's nothing like surprising the rogues; how they will be disappointed, when they hear that thou hast prevented their revenge, and hanged thine own self?

Jack. That's true; but what if I should do it in effigies? Is there never an old pope or pretender to hang up in my stead? we are not so unlike, but it may pass.

Hab. That can never be put upon Sir Roger.

Jack. Are you sure he is in the next room? Have you provided a very sharp knife, in case of the worst?

Hab. Dost take me for a common liar? be satisfied, no damage can happen to your person; your friends will take care of that.

Jack. Mayn't I quilt my rope? it galls my neck strangely: besides, I don't like this running knot, it holds too tight; I may be stifled all of a sudden.

Hab. Thou hast so many ifs and ands; prithee dispatch; it might have been over before this time.

Jack. But now I think on't, I would fain settle some affairs, for fear of the worst: have a little patience.

Hab. There's no having patience, thou art such a faintling, silly creature.

Jack. O thou most detestable, abominable passive obedience! did I ever imagine I should become thy votary in so pregnant an instance?

How will my brother Martin laugh at this story, to see himself outdone in his own calling? He has taken the doctrine, and left me the practice.

No sooner had he uttered these words, but, like a man of true courage, he tied the fatal cord to the beam, fitted the noose, and mounted upon the bottom of a tub, the inside of which he had often graced in his prosperous days. This footstool Habbakkuk kicked away, and left poor Jack swinging, like the pendulum of Paul's clock.—The fatal noose performed its office, and with the most strict ligature squeezed the blood into his face, till it assumed a purple dye. While the poor man heaved from the very bottom of his belly for breath, Habbakkuk walked with great deliberation into both the upper and lower room to acquaint his friends, who received the news with great temper, and with jeers and scoffs, instead of pity. "Jack has hanged himself!" quoth they, "let us go and see how the poor rogue swings." Then they called Sir Roger. "Sir Roger," quoth Habbakkuk, "Jack has hanged himself; make haste and cut him down." Sir Roger turned first one ear, and then t'other, not understanding what he said.

Hab. I tell you, Jack has hanged himself up.

Sir Roger. Who's hanged?

Hab. Jack.

Sir Roger. I thought this had not been hanging day.

Hab. But the poor fellow has hanged himself.

Sir Roger. Then let him hang; I don't wonder at it, the fellow has been mad these twenty years. With this he slunk away.*

* The dissenters appealed to the Earl of Oxford, and implored his assistance through the medium of Mr Shower, one of the

Then Jack's friends began to hunch and push one another. "Why don't you go, and cut the poor fellow down? Why don't you? And why don't you?" "Not I," quoth one; "Not I," quoth another; "Not I," quoth a third; "he may hang 'till doomsday before I relieve him."—Nay, it is credibly reported, that they were so far from succouring their poor friend in this his dismal circumstance, that Ptschirnsooker and several of his companions went in and pulled him by the legs, and thumped him on the breast.—Then they began to rail at him for the very thing, which they had advised and justified before, viz. his getting into the old gentlewoman's family, and putting on her livery. The keeper, who performed the last office, coming up, found Jack swinging with no life in him; he took down the body gently, and laid it on a bulk, and brought out the rope to the company. "This, gentlemen, is the rope that hanged Jack: what must be done with it?" Upon which they ordered it to be laid among the curiosities of Gresham Col-

most celebrated preachers. But, in his answer, drawn by Swift, he termed them "poor deluded creatures, that have for seventeen years been acting against all their principles;" and he concludes, "As to myself, the engineers of this bill thought they had obtained a great advantage against me: finding I had stopped it in the House of Commons, they thought to bring me to a fatal dilemma, whether it did or did not pass. This would have no influence with me: for I will act what I think to be right, let there be the worst enemies in the world of one side or other. I guess, by your letter, that you do not know that the bill yesterday passed both houses, the Lords having agreed to the amendments made by the Commons; so that there is no room to do any thing upon that head."

lege,* and it is called Jack's rope to this very day. However, Jack after all had some small tokens of life in him, but lies at this time past hope of a total recovery, with his head hanging on one shoulder, without speech or motion. The coroner's inquest supposing him to be dead, brought him in *Non Compos*.

CHAP. III.

The Conference between Don Diego and John Bull.

DURING the time of the foregoing transactions, Don Diego was entertaining John Bull.

D. Diego. I hope, sir, this day's proceeding will convince you of the sincerity of your old friend Diego and the treachery of Sir Roger.

J. Bull. What's the matter now?

D. Diego. You have been endeavouring, for several years, to have justice done upon that rogue Jack; but what through the remissness of constables, justices, and packed juries, he has always found the means to escape.

J. Bull. What then?

D. Diego. Consider then, who is your best friend; he that would have brought him to condign punishment, or he that has saved him. By my persuasion Jack had hanged himself, if Sir Roger had not cut him down.

* Since removed with the Royal Society into Crane Court, in Fleet Street,

J. Bull. Who told you, that Sir Roger has done so?

D. Diego. You seem to receive me coldly : methinks my services deserve a better return.

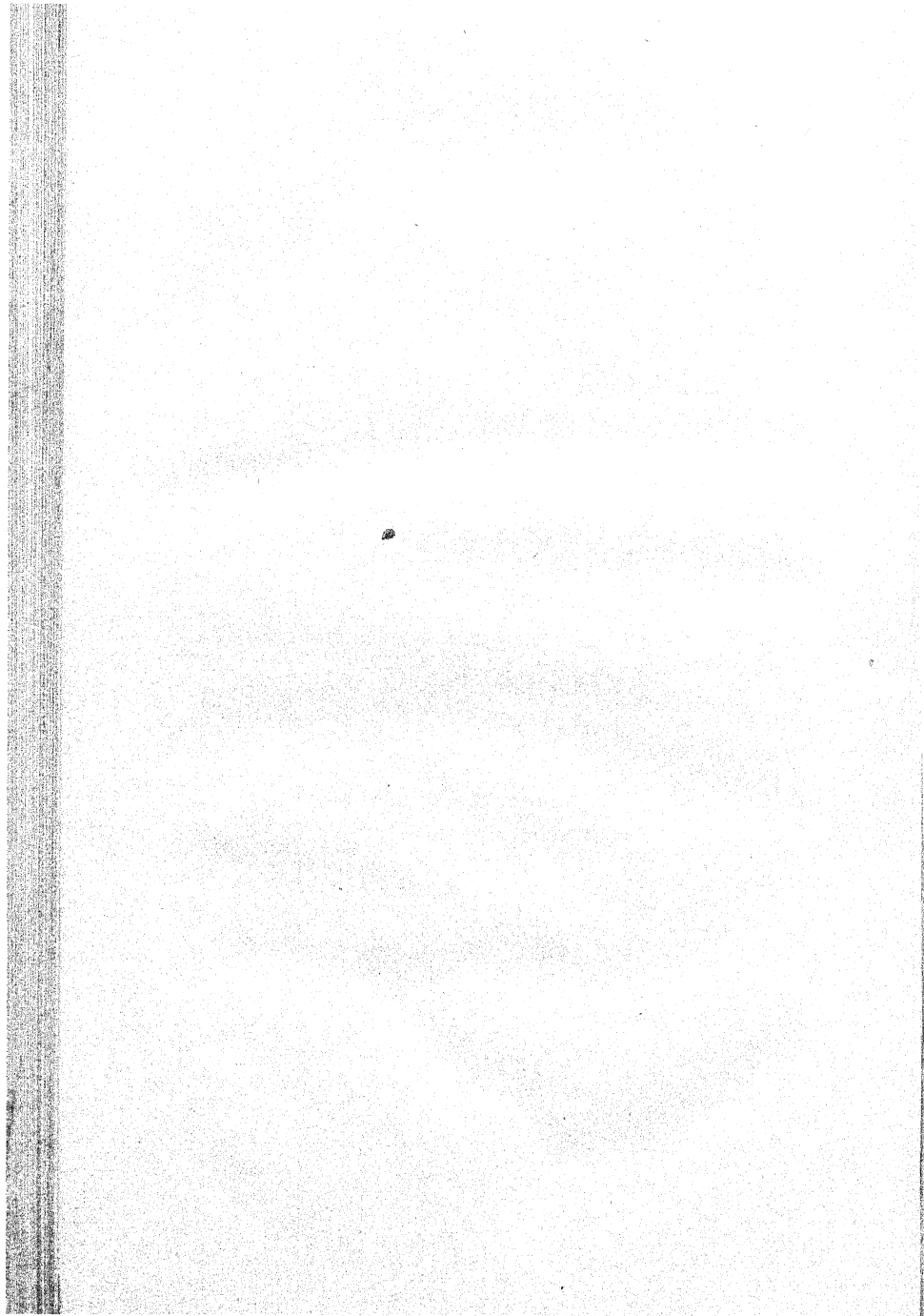
J. Bull. Since you value yourself upon hanging this poor scoundrel, I tell you, when I have any more hanging-work, I'll send for thee : I have some better employment for Sir Roger : In the mean time, I desire the poor fellow may be looked after. When he first came out of the north country into my family, under the pretended name of Timothy Trim, the fellow seemed to mind his loom and his spinning-wheel, till somebody turned his head ; then he grew so pragmatical, that he took upon him the government of my whole family. I could never order any thing within or without doors, but he must be always giving his counsel, forsooth ; nevertheless, tell him I will forgive what is past ; and if he would mind his business for the future, and not meddle out of his own sphere, he will find, that John Bull is not of a cruel disposition.

D. Diego. Yet all your skilful physicians say, that nothing can recover your mother, but a piece of Jack's liver boiled in her soup.

J. Bull. Those are quacks : my mother abhors such cannibal's food : she is in perfect health at present : I would have given many a good pound to have had her so well some time ago. There are indeed two or three old troublesome nurses,* that, because they believe I am tender-hearted, will never let me have a quiet night's rest with knocking me up : " Oh, sir, your mother is taken

* New clamours about the danger of the Church.

extremely ill! she is falling into a fainting fit! she has a great emptiness, wants sustenance!"— This is only to recommend themselves for their great care: John Bull, as simple as he is, understands a little of a pulse.



LAW IS A BOTTOMLESS PIT:

OR, THE

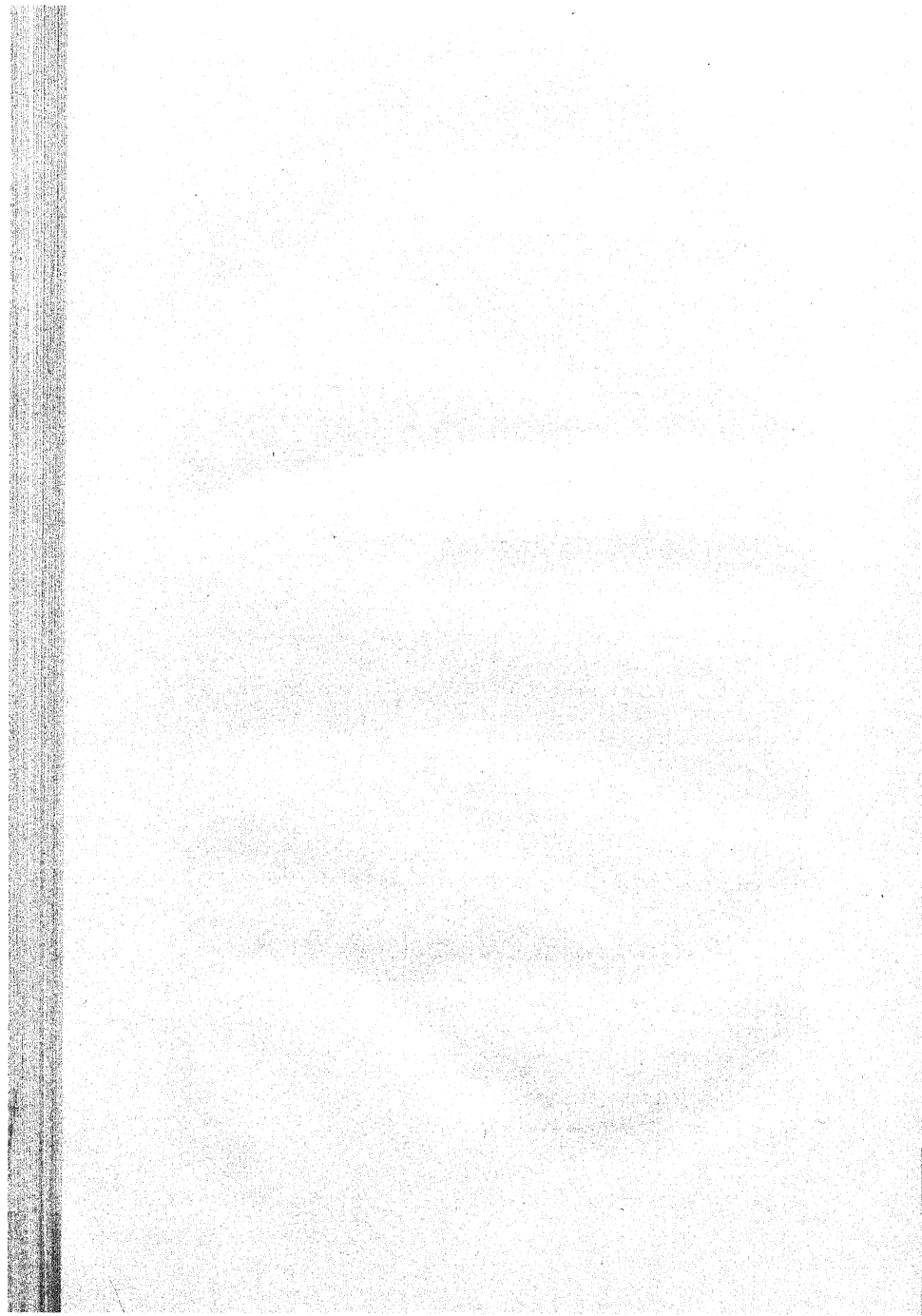
HISTORY

OF

JOHN BULL,

THE FIFTH PART.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1713.



LAW IS A BOTTOMLESS PIT, &c.

IN the early editions, this chapter begins the fourth part of the work, and is ushered in by the following preface, which, although omitted by late editors, seems to have a good title to be preserved:—The Lamentation over the Downfall of Grub-street, is very much in the style afterwards employed by Fielding, in his preliminary chapters.

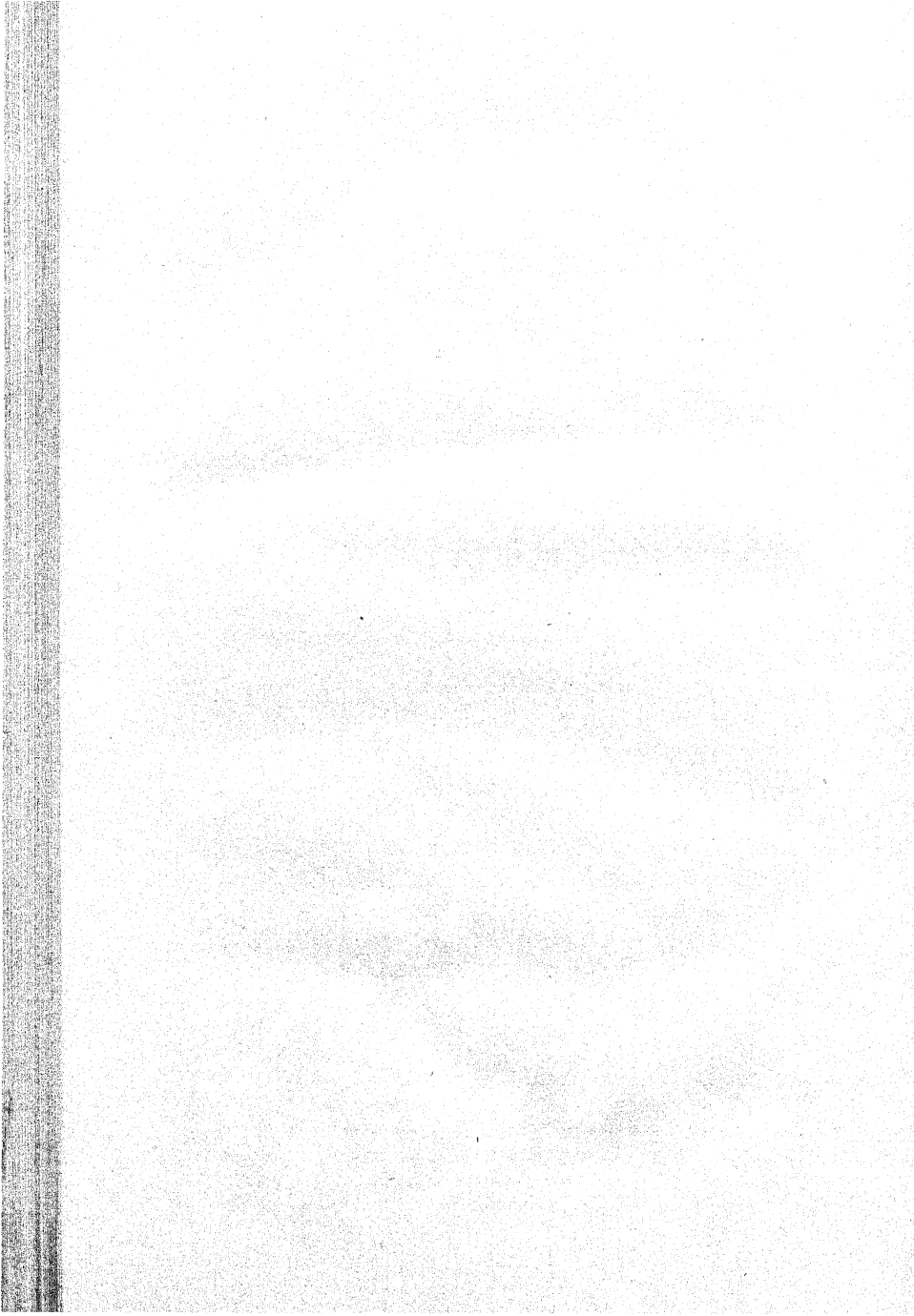
“ When I was first called to the office of historiographer to John Bull, he expressed himself to this purpose: Sir Humphry, I know you are a plain dealer; it is for that reason I have chosen you for this important trust; speak the truth, and spare not. That I might fulfil those his honourable intentions, I obtained leave to repair to, and attend him in his most secret retirements; and I put the journals of all transactions into a strong box, to be opened at a fitting occasion, after the manner of the historiographers of some eastern monarchs. This I thought was the safest way; though I declare I was never afraid to be chopped by my master for telling of truth. It is from those journals that my memoirs are compiled: therefore let not posterity, a thousand years hence, look for truth in the voluminous annals of pedants, who are entirely ignorant of the secret springs of great actions; if they do, let me tell them, they will be rebus’d. With incredible pains have I endeavoured to copy the several beauties of the ancient and modern historians; the impartial temper of Herodotus, the gravity, austerity, and strict morals of Thucydides, the extensive knowledge of Xenophon, the sublimity and grandeur of Titus Livius, and to avoid the careless style of Polybius: I have borrowed considerable ornaments from Dionysius Halicarnasseus, and Diodorus Siculus: the specious gilding of Tacitus I endeavoured to shun. Mariana, Davila, and Fra. Paulo, are those amongst the moderns whom I thought most worthy of imitation; but I cannot be so disingenuous as not to own the infinite obligations I have to the Pilgrim’s Progress of John Bunyan, and the Tenter Belly of Joseph Hall. From such encouragement and helps, it is easy to guess to what a degree of perfection I might have brought this great work, had it not been nipped in the bud by some illiterate people in both Houses of Parliament, who, envying the great figure I was to make in future ages, under pre-

tence of raising money for the war,* have padlocked all those very pens that were to celebrate the actions of their heroes, by silencing at once the whole university of Grub-street. I am persuaded that nothing but the prospect of an approaching peace could have encouraged them to make so bold a step. But suffer me, in the name of the rest of the matriculates of that famous university, to ask them some plain questions. Do they think that peace will bring along with it the golden age? Will there be never the dying speech of a traitor? Are Cethegus and Catiline turned so tame, that there will be no opportunity to cry about the streets, 'Dangerous plot?' Will peace bring such plenty, that no gentleman will have occasion to go upon the highway or break into a house? I am sorry that the world should be so much imposed upon by the dreams of a false prophet, as to imagine the millennium is at hand. O Grub Street! thou fruitful nursery of tow'ring geniuses! how do I lament thy downfall! Thy ruin could never be meditated by any who meant well to English liberty: no modern lycæum will ever equal thy glory, whether in soft pastorals thou sung the flames of pampered apprentices and coy cook-maids; or if to Mæonian strains thou raised thy voice, to record the stratagems, the arduous exploits, and the nocturnal scalade of needy heroes, the terror of your peaceful citizen, describing the powerful Betty,† or the artful picklock, or the secret caverns and grottos of Vulcan sweating at his forge, and stamping the queen's image on baser metals, which he retails for beef and pots of ale; or if thou wert content in simple narrative to relate the acts of implacable revenge, or the complaints of ravished virgins, blushing to tell their adventure before the listening crowd of city damsels, whilst in thy faithful history thou intermingles the gravest counsels and the purest morals: Nor less acute and piercing wert thou in thy search and pompous description of the works of nature, whether in proper and emphatic forms thou didst paint the blazing comet's fiery tail, the stupendous force of dreadful thunder and earthquakes, and the unrelenting inundations. Sometimes, with Machiavelian sagacity, thou unravellest the intrigues of state, and the traitorous conspiracies of rebels giving wise counsel to monarchs. How didst thou move our terror and our pity with thy passionate scenes between Jack Catch and the heroes of the Old Bailey! How didst thou describe the intrepid march upon Holborn Hill! Nor didst thou shine less in thy theological capacity, when thou gavest thy ghostly counsel to dying felons, and recorded the guilty pangs of Sabbath-breakers! How will the noble acts of John Overton's painting and sculpture languish! where rich invention, proper

* By a stamp duty on pamphlets.

† A cant name given by house-breakers to an iron lever.

expression, correct design, divine attitudes, and artful contract, heightened with the beauties of clar-obscur, embellished thy celebrated pieces to the delight and astonishment of the judicious multitude! Adieu, persuasive eloquence! the quaint metaphor, the poignant irony, the proper epithet, and the lively simile, are fled to Bury-leigh on the hill: Instead of these, we shall have, I know not what — the illiterate will tell the rest with pleasure!—I hope the reader will excuse the digression, due by way of condolence, to my worthy brethren of Grub-Street, for the approaching barbarity that is likely to overspread all its regions, by this oppressive and exorbitant tax. It has been my good fortune to receive my education there, and so long as I preserved some figure and rank amongst the learned of that society, I scorned to take any degree either at Utrecht or Leyden, though I was offered it gratis by the professors there.—*John Bull, Part IV. Edin. 1712.*



THE
HISTORY
OF
JOHN BULL.

CHAP. I.

*The Sequel of the Meeting at the Salutation.**

WHERE I think I left John Bull, sitting between Nic. Frog and Lewis Baboon, with his arms a kimbo, in great concern to keep Lewis and Nic. asunder. As watchful as he was, Nic. found the means now and then to steal a whisper, and by a cleanly conveyance under the table, to slip a short note into Lewis's hand; which Lewis as slily put into John's pocket, with a pinch or a jog, to warn him what he was about. † John had the curiosity to retire into a corner to peruse these billets doux ‡ of Nic.'s; wherein he found, that

* At the congress of Utrecht.

† The Abbe Polignac shewed to the Lord Privy Seal, Moleau, a secret agent of the states, in the act of retiring from his apartment, and assured him that he had come to propose measures between France and Holland, independent of England.

‡ Some offers of the Dutch at that time, in order to get the negotiation into their hands.

Nic. had used great freedoms both with his interest and reputation. One contained these words: "Dear Lewis, thou seest clearly, that this blockhead can never bring his matters to bear: let thee and me talk to-night by ourselves at the Rose, and I'll give thee satisfaction." Another was thus expressed; "Friend Lewis, has thy sense quite forsaken thee, to make Bull such offers? Hold fast, part with nothing, and I will give thee a better bargain, I'll warrant thee."

In some of his billets he told Lewis, "That John Bull was under his guardianship; that the best part of his servants were at his command; that he could have John gagged and bound whenever he pleased by the people of his own family." In all these epistles, blockhead, dunce, ass, coxcomb, were the best epithets he gave poor John. In others he threatened,* "That he, esquire South, and the rest of the tradesmen, would lay Lewis down upon his back and beat out his teeth, if he did not retire immediately, and break up the meeting."

I fancy I need not tell my reader, that John often changed colour as he read, and that his fingers itched to give Nic. a good slap on the chops; but he wisely moderated his cholerick temper. "I saved this fellow," quoth he, "from the gallows, when he ran away from his last master,† because I thought he was harshly treated; but the rogue was no sooner safe under my protection, than he began to lie, pilfer, and steal like

* Threatening that the allies would carry on the war, without the help of the English.

† The King of Spain, whose yoke the Dutch threw off, with the assistance of the English.

the devil. † When I first set him up in a warm house, he had hardly put up his sign, when he began to debauch my best customers from me: † Then it was his constant practice to rob my fishponds, not only to feed his family, but to trade with the fishmongers: I connived at the fellow, till he began to tell me, that they were his as much as mine. In my manor of Eastcheap, † because it lay at some distance from my constant inspection, he broke down my fences, robbed my orchards, and beat my servants. When I used to reprimand him for his tricks, he would talk saucily, lie, and brazen it out as if he had done nothing amiss. Will nothing cure thee of thy pranks, Nic? quoth I; I shall be forced some time or other to chastise thee. The rogue got up his cane, and threatened me, and was well thwacked for his pains.* But I think his behaviour at this time worst of all; after I have almost drowned myself to keep his head above water, he would leave me sticking in the mud, trusting to his goodness to help me out. After I have beggared myself with his troublesome lawsuit, with a pox to him, he takes it in mighty dudgeon, because I have brought him here to end matters amicably, and because I won't let him make me over by deed and indenture as his lawful cully; which, to my certain knowledge, he has attempted several times. But, after all, canst thou gather grapes from thorns? Nic. does not pretend to be a gentleman; he is a tradesman, a self-seeking wretch; but how camest thou to bear all this, John? The

† Complaints against the Dutch for encroachment in trade, fishery, East Indies, &c.

* The war with the Dutch on these accounts.

reason is plain ; thou conferrest the benefits, and he receives them ; the first produces love, and the last ingratitude. Ah ! Nic. Nic. thou art a damn'd dog, that's certain ; thou knowest too well, that I will take care of thee ; else thou wouldst not use me thus. I won't give thee up, it is true ; but as true as it is, thou shalt not sell me, according to thy laudable custom." While John was deep in this soliloquy, Nic. broke out into the following protestation.

GENTLEMEN,

" I believe every body here present will allow me to be a very just and disinterested person. My friend John Bull here is very angry with me, forsooth, because I won't agree to his foolish bargains. Now I declare to all mankind, I should be ready to sacrifice my own concerns to his quiet ; but the care of his interest, and that of the honest tradesmen * that are embarked with us, keeps me from entering into this composition. What shall become of those poor creatures ? The thoughts of their impending ruin disturbs my night's rest, therefore I desire they may speak for themselves. If they are willing to give up this affair, I shan't make two words of it."

John Bull begged him to lay aside that immoderate concern for him ; and withal put him in mind, that the interest of those tradesmen had not sat quite so heavy upon him some years ago, on a like occasion. Nic. answered little to that, but immediately pulled out a boatswain's whistle. Upon the first whiff, the tradesmen came jump-

* The allies.

ing into the room, and began to surround Lewis, like so many yelping curs about a great boar; or, to use a modester simile, like duns at a great lord's levee the morning he goes into the country. One pulled him by his sleeve, another by the skirt, a third haloo'd in his ear: they began to ask him for all that had been taken from their forefathers by stealth, fraud, force, or lawful purchase; some asked for manors, others for acres, that lay convenient for them: that he would pull down his fences, level his ditches: all agreed in one common demand, that he should be purged, sweated, vomited, and starved, till he came to a sizeable bulk, like that of his neighbours: one modestly asked him leave to call him brother; Nic. Frog demanded two things, to be his porter and his fishmonger, to keep the keys of his gates, and furnish the kitchen. John's sister Peg only desired, that he would let his servants sing psalms a Sundays. Some descended even to the asking of old clothes, shoes, and boots, broken bottles, tobacco-pipes, and ends of candles.

"Monsieur Bull," quoth Lewis, "you seem to be a man of some breeding: for God's sake, use your interest with these messieurs, that they would speak but one at once; for if one had a hundred pair of hands, and as many tongues, he cannot satisfy them all at this rate." John begged they might proceed with some method: then they stopped all of a sudden and would not say a word. "If this be your play," quoth John, "that we may not be like a quaker's dumb meeting, let us begin some diversion; what d'ye think of roly pooly, or a country dance? What if we should have a match at football? I am sure we shall never end matters at this rate."

CHAP. II.

*How John Bull and Nic. Frog settled their Accounts.**

J. Bull. DURING this general cessation of talk, what if you and I, Nic., should inquire how money-matters stand between us?

Nic. Frog. With all my heart, I love exact dealing; and let Hocus audit; he knows how the money was disbursed.

J. Bull. I am not much for that, at present; we'll settle it between ourselves: fair and square, Nic., keeps friends together. There have been laid out in this lawsuit, at one time, 36,000 pounds and 40,000 crowns: in some cases I, in others you, bear the greatest proportion.

Nic. Right: I pay three-fifths of the greatest number, and you pay two-thirds of the lesser number; I think this is fair and square, as you call it.

John. Well, go on.

Nic. Two-thirds of 36,000 pounds are 24,000 pounds for your share, and there remains 12,000 for mine. Again, of the 40,000 crowns I pay 24,000, which is three-fifths, and you pay only 16,000, which is two-fifths; 24,000 crowns make 6000 pounds; and 16,000 crowns make 4000

* In the Conduct of the Allies, Swift endeavours to fix upon the Dutch the charge of so construing the treaties between the States and Britain, as to throw on the latter the chief burden of the war.

pounds; 12,000 and 6000 make 18,000; 24,000 and 4000 make 28,000. So there are 18,000 pounds to my share of the expenses, and 28,000 to yours.

[After Nic. had bamboozled John awhile about the 18,000 and the 28,000, John called for counters; but what with slight of hand, and taking from his own score and adding to John's, Nic. brought the balance always on his own side.]

J. Bull. Nay, good friend Nic., though I am not quite so nimble in the fingers, I understand cyphering as well as you. I will produce you my accounts one by one, fairly writ out of my own books: and here I begin with the first. You must excuse me, if I don't pronounce the law terms right.

[John reads.]

For the expenses ordinary of the suits, fees, to judges, puisne judges, lawyers innumerable of all sorts.

Of Extraordinaries, as follows *per* account.

To Esquire South's account for Post terminums			
To ditto for Non est factums	-	-	-
To ditto for Noli prosequis, Discontinuance, and			
Retraxit	-	-	-
For Writs of error	-	-	
Suits of Conditions unperformed	-		-
To Hocus for Dedimus potestatem	-		-
To ditto for a Capias ad computandum	-		-
To Frog's new tenants <i>per</i> account to Hocus, for			
Audita querelas	-	-	-

On the said account for Writs of ejectment and
Distringas - - -

To Esquire South's quota for a return of a Non
est invent. and Nulla habet bona - - -

To — for a pardon *in forma pauperis* - - -

To Jack for a Melius inquirendum upon a Felo
de se - - -

To coach-hire - - -

For treats to juries and witnesses - - -

John having read over his articles, with the
respective sums, brought in Frog debtor to him
upon the balance - - - 3382 12 00

Then Nic. Frog pulled his bill out of his pocket,
and began to read :

Nicholas Frog's account.

Remains to be deducted out of the former account.

Paid by Nic. Frog, for his share of the ordinary
expenses of the suit - - -

To Hocus for entries of a Rege inconsulto - - -

To John Bull's nephew for a Venire facias, the
money not yet all laid out - - -

The coach-hire for my wife and family, and the
carriage of my goods during the time of this
lawsuit - - -

For the extraordinary expenses of feeding my family
during this lawsuit - - -

To Major Ab. - - -

To Major Will. - - -

And summing all up, found due upon the balance
by John Bull to Nic. Frog 09 04 06

J. Bull. As for your Venire facias, I have paid

you for one already ; in the other I believe you will be nonsuited. I'll take care of my nephew myself.* Your coach-hire and family charges are most unreasonable deductions ; at that rate, I can bring in any man in the world my debtor. But who the devil are these two majors, that consume all my money ? I find they always run away with the balance in all accompts.

Nic. Frog. Two very honest gentlemen, I assure you, that have done me some service. To tell you plainly, Major Ab. denotes thy greater ability, and Major Will. thy greater willingness to carry on this lawsuit. It was but reasonable that thou shouldst pay both for thy power and thy positiveness.

J. Bull. I believe I shall have those two honest majors discount on my side in a little time.

Nic. Frog. Why all this higgling with thy friend about such a paltry sum ? Does this become the generosity of the noble and rich John Bull ? I wonder thou art not ashamed. O Hocus ! Hocus ! where art thou ? It used to go another guise manner in thy time. When a poor man has almost undone himself for thy sake, thou art for fleecing him, and fleecing him : is that thy conscience, John ?

J. Bull. Very pleasant indeed ! It is well known thou retainest thy lawyers by the year, so a fresh lawsuit adds but little to thy expenses ; they are thy customers ; I hardly ever sell them a farthing's worth of any thing : nay, thou hast

* Alluding to the writ by which the Elector of Hanover demanded to be called to the House of Peers as Duke of Cambridge, which, with every proposal tending to bring him to Britain, the queen obstinately resisted.

set up an eating-house, where the whole tribe of them spend all they can rap or ran.* If it were well reckoned, I believe thou gettest more of my money, than thou spendest of thy own; however, if thou wilt needs plead poverty, own, at least, that thy accompts are false.

Nic. Frog. No, marry, won't I; I refer myself to these honest gentlemen; let them judge between us. Let esquire South speak his mind, whether my accompts are not right, and whether we ought not to go on with our lawsuit.

J. Bull. Consult the butchers about keeping of Lent. Dost think, that John Bull will be tried by Piepowders?† I tell you once for all, John Bull knows where his shoe pinches: none of your esquires shall give him the law, as long as he wears his trusty weapon by his side, or has an inch of broad cloth in his shop.

Nic. Frog. Why there it is; you will be both judge and party; I am sorry thou discoverest so much of thy headstrong humour before these strange gentlemen; I have often told thee it would prove thy ruin some time or other; let it never be said that the famous John Bull has departed in despite of court.

J. Bull. And will it not reflect as much on thy character, Nic., to turn barrator in thy old days; a stirrer up of quarrels among thy neighbours? I

* The money spent in Holland and Flanders.

† Court of Piepowder (*Curia pedis pulverizati*) is a court of record incident to every fair; whereof the steward is judge, and the trial is by merchants and traders in the fair. It is so called, because it is most usual in the summer: and because of the expedition in hearing causes, for the matter is to be done, complained of, heard, and determined the same day, that is, before the dust goes off the feet of the plaintiffs and defendants.

tell thee, Nic., some time or other thou wilt repent this.

[But John saw clearly he should have nothing but wrangling, and that he should have as little success in settling his accòmpts, as ending the composition. "Since they will needs overload my shoulders," quoth John, "I shall throw down the burden with a squash among them, take it up who dares; a man has a fine time of it, among a combination of sharpers, that vouch for one another's honesty. John, look to thyself; old Lewis makes reasonable offers; when thou hast spent the small pittance that is left, thou wilt make a glorious figure, when thou art brought to live upon Nic. Frog's and esquire South's generosity and gratitude: if they use thee thus, when they want thee, what will they do, when thou wantest them? I say again, John, look to thyself." *]

John wisely stifled his resentment, and told the company, that in a little time he should give them law, or something better.]

All. Law! law! sir, by all means. What is twenty-two poor years toward the finishing a lawsuit? For the love of God, more law, sir! †

J. Bull. Prepare your demands; how many years more of law do you want, that I may order my affairs accordingly? In the meanwhile, farewell.

* Resolution of the English ministry to make a separate agreement with France.

† Clamours of the allied powers for continuing the war.

CHAP. III.

*How John Bull found all his Family in an Uproar at Home.**

NIC. FROG, who thought of nothing but carrying John to the market, and there disposing of him as his own proper goods, was mad to find that John thought himself now of age to look after his own affairs. He resolved to traverse this new project, and to make him uneasy in his own family. He had corrupted or deluded most of his servants into the most extravagant conceits in the world; that their master was run mad, and wore a dagger in one pocket, and poison in the other; that he had sold his wife and children to Lewis, disinherited his heir, and was going to settle his estate upon a parish boy; † that if they did not look after their master, he would do some very mischievous thing. When John came home, he found a more surprising scene than any he had yet met with, and that you will say was somewhat extraordinary.

He called his cook-maid Betty to bespeak his dinner: Betty told him, "That she begged his pardon, she could not dress dinner, till she knew what he intended to do with his will." "Why, Betty," quoth John, "thou art not run mad, art thou? My will at present is to have dinner." "That may be," quoth Betty, "but my conscience won't allow me to dress it, till I know

* Clamours of the Whigs about the danger of the succession.

† Alarm raised that Queen Anne would call in the Pretender.

whether you intend to do righteous things by your heir?" "I am sorry for that, Betty," quoth John, "I must find somebody else then." Then he called John the barber. "Before I begin," quoth John, "I hope your honour won't be offended, if I ask you whether you intend to alter your will? If you won't give me a positive answer, your beard may grow down to your middle, for me." "'Igad so it shall," quoth Bull, "for I will never trust my throat in such a mad fellow's hands. Where's Dick the butler?" "Look ye," quoth Dick, "I am very willing to serve you in my calling, d'ye see; but there are strange reports, and plain dealing is best, d'ye see; I must be satisfied if you intend to leave all to your nephew, and if Nic. Frog is still your executor, d'ye see; if you will not satisfy me as to these points, you may drink with the ducks." "And so I will," quoth John, "rather than keep a butler that loves my heir better than myself." Hob the shoemaker, and Pricket the tailor, told him, "They would most willingly serve him in their several stations, if he would promise them never to talk with Lewis Baboon, and let Nicholas Frog, linen-draper, manage his concerns; that they could neither make shoes nor clothes to any, that were not in good correspondence with their worthy friend Nicholas."

J. Bull. Call Andrew my journeyman. How go affairs, Andrew? I hope the devil has not taken possession of thy body too.

Andrew. No, sir; I only desire to know what you would do if you were dead.

J. Bull. Just as other dead folks do, Andrew.— This is amazing! [*Aside.*]

Andrew. I mean if your nephew shall inherit your estate?

J. Bull. That depends upon himself. I shall do nothing to hinder him.

Andrew. But will you make it sure?

J. Bull. Thou meanest that I should put him in possession, for I can make it no surer without that; he has all the law can give him.

Andrew. Indeed possession, as you say, would make it much surer; they say, it is eleven points of the law. *

[John began now to think that they were all enchanted; he inquired about the age of the moon; if Nic. had not given them some intoxicating potion, or if old mother Jenisa † was still alive? "No, o' my faith," quoth Harry, ‡ "I believe there is no potion in the case, but a little *aurum potable*. You will have more of this by and by." He had scarce spoke the word, when another friend of John's accosted him after the following manner:

"Since those worthy persons, who are as much concerned for your safety as I am, have employed me as their orator, I desire to know whether you will have it by way of syllogism, enthymem, dilemma, or sorites."

John now began to be diverted with their extravagance.]

J. Bull. Let's have a sorites by all means; though they are all new to me.

Friend. It is evident to all, who are versed in

* Various proposals were made to bring over the Elector of Hanover, which would have been in some measure giving him possession of the crown, even during the life of Queen Anne.

† Mrs Jenyns, mother of the Duchess of Marlborough. See the Tract, entitled, The Apparition of Mother Haggy.

‡ St John Lord Bolingbroke.

history, that there were two sisters that played the whore two thousand years ago: therefore it plainly follows, that it is not lawful for John Bull to have any manner of intercourse with Lewis Baboon: if it is not lawful for John Bull to have any manner of intercourse, (correspondence if you will, that is much the same thing,) then *à fortiori*, it is much more unlawful for the said John to make over his wife and children to the said Lewis: if his wife and children are not to be made over, he is not to wear a dagger and ratsbane in his pockets: if he wears a dagger and ratsbane, it must be to do mischief to himself or somebody else: if he intends to do mischief, he ought to be under guardians, and there is none so fit as myself, and some other worthy persons, who have a commission for that purpose from Nic. Frog, the executor of his will and testament.

J. Bull. And this is your sorites, you say?—With that he snatched a good tough oaken cudgel, and began to brandish it; then happy was the man, that was first at the door; crowding to get out, they tumbled down stairs; and it is credibly reported some of them dropped very valuable things in the hurry, which were picked up by others of the family.*

“That any of these rogues,” quoth John, “should imagine, I am not as much concerned as they about having my affairs in a settled condition, or that I would wrong my heir for I know

*The character of this logical friend is in the first edition bestowed on Don Diego Dismallo (the Earl of Nottingham). The discipline administered by John Bull to his officious advisers, refers to the displacing the Dukes of Marlborough, Somerset, and other opposers of ministers, 8th December, 1711, whose offices were filled up by Tories.

not what! Well, Nic., I really cannot but applaud thy diligence; I must own this is really a pretty sort of a trick, but it shan't do thy business for all that."

CHAP. IV.

*How Lewis Baboon came to visit John Bull, and what passed between them.**

[I think it is but ingenuous to acquaint the reader, that this chapter was not written by Sir Humphry himself, but by another very able pen of the university of Grub-street.]

JOHN had (by some good instructions given him by Sir Roger) got the better of his cholerick temper, and wrought himself up to a great steadiness of mind, to pursue his own interest through all impediments that were thrown in the way: he began to leave off some of his old acquaintance, his roaring and bullying about the streets; he put on a serious air, knit his brows, and, for the time, had made a very considerable progress in politics, considering that he had been kept a stranger to his own affairs. However, he could not help discovering some remains of his nature, when he happened to meet with a football, or a match at cricket; for which Sir Roger was sure to take him to task. John was walking about his room, with folded arms, and a most thoughtful counte-

* Private negotiations about Dunkirk.

nance: his servant brought him word, that one Lewis Baboon below wanted to speak with him. John had got an impression, that Lewis was so deadly cunning a man, that he was afraid to venture himself alone with him: at last he took heart of grace: "Let him come up," quoth he; "it is but sticking to my point, and he can never overreach me."

Lewis Baboon. Monsieur Bull, I will frankly acknowledge, that my behaviour to my neighbours has been somewhat uncivil, and I believe you will readily grant me, that I have met with usage accordingly. I was fond of backsword and cudgelplay from my youth, and I now bear in my body many a black and blue gash and scar, God knows. I had as good a warehouse, and as fair possessions, as any of my neighbours, though I say it; but a contentious temper, flattering servants, and unfortunate stars, have brought me into circumstances that are not unknown to you. These my misfortunes are heightened by domestic calamities. That I need not relate. I am a poor battered old fellow, and I would willingly end my days in peace: but, alas! I see but small hopes of that; for every new circumstance affords an argument to my enemies, to pursue their revenge; formerly I was to be banged, because I was too strong, and now because I am too weak to resist; I am to be brought down when too rich, and oppressed when too poor. Nic. Frog has used me like a scoundrel; you are a gentleman, and I freely put myself in your hands, to dispose of me as you think fit.*

John Bull. Look you, Master Baboon, as to your

* Treaty for a separate peace between England and France.

usage of your neighbours, you had best not dwell too much upon that chapter; let it suffice, at present, that you have been met with: you have been rolling a great stone up hill all your life, and at last it has come tumbling down, till it is like to crush you to pieces: plain dealing is best. If you have any particular mark, Mr Baboon, whereby one may know when you fib, and when you speak truth, you had best tell it me, that one may proceed accordingly; but since at present I know of none such, it is better that you should trust me, than that I shall trust you.

L. Baboon. I know of no particular mark of veracity among us tradesmen, but interest; and it is manifestly mine not to deceive you at this time; you may safely trust me, I can assure you.

J. Bull. The trust I give is in short this; I must have something in hand, before I make the bargain, and the rest before it is concluded.

L. Baboon. To show you I deal fairly, name your something.

J. Bull. I need not tell you, old boy; thou canst guess.

L. Baboon. Ecclesdown castle,* I'll warrant you, because it has been formerly in your family! Say no more, you shall have it.

J. Bull. I shall have it to m'own self?

L. Baboon. To thy n'own self.

J. Bull. Every wall, gate, room, and inch of Ecclesdown castle, you say?

L. Baboon. Just so.

J. Bull. Every single stone of Ecclesdown castle, to m'own self, speedily?

* Ecclesia-Dun, *i. e.* Dunkirk; which had been garrisoned by the English in Cromwell's time, and is therefore said to have been formerly in John Bull's family.

L. Baboon. When you please ; what needs more words ?

J. Bull. But tell me, old boy, hast thou laid aside all thy equivocals and mentals in this case ?

L. Baboon. There's nothing like matter of fact ; seeing is believing.

J. Bull. Now thou talkest to the purpose ; let us shake hands, old boy. Let me ask thee one question more : What hast thou to do, to meddle with the affairs of my family ? to dispose of my estate, old boy ?*

L. Baboon. Just as much as you have to do with the affairs of lord Strutt.

J. Bull. Ay, but my trade, my very being was concerned in that.

L. Baboon. And my interest was concerned in the other : but let us both drop our pretences ; for I believe it is a moot point, whether I am more likely to make a Master Bull, or you a lord Strutt.

J. Bull. Agreed, old boy ; but then I must have security, that I shall carry my broad-cloth to market, old boy.

L. Baboon. That you shall : Ecclesdown castle ! Ecclesdown ! remember that : why would'st thou not take it, when it was offered thee some years ago ? †

J. Bull. I would not take it, because they told me thou would'st not give it me.

L. Baboon. How could Monsieur Bull be so grossly abused by downright nonsense ? they that advised you to refuse, must have believed I intended to give, else why would they not make

* Alluding to the interference of France in behalf of the Chevalier St George, and his claims on the throne of Britain.

† At the treaty of Gertruydenburgh.

the experiment? but I can tell you more of that matter, than perhaps you know at present.

J. Bull. But what say'st thou as to the esquire, Nic. Frog, and the rest of the tradesmen? I must take care of them.

L. Baboon. Thou hast but small obligations to Nic. to my certain knowledge: he has not used thee like a gentleman.

J. Bull. Nic. indeed is not very nice in your punctilios of ceremony; he is clownish, as a man may say: belching and calling of names have been allowed him, time out of mind, by prescription: but, however, we are engaged in one common cause, and I must look after him.*

L. Baboon. All matters that relate to him, and the rest of the plaintiffs in this lawsuit, I will refer to your justice.

CHAP. V.

Nic. Frog's Letter to John Bull; wherein he endeavours to vindicate all his Conduct, with Relation to John Bull and the Lawsuit.

Nic. perceived now that his cully had eloped, that John intended henceforth to deal without a broker; but he was resolved to leave no stone unturned to recover his bubble: among other ar-

* The English negociators kept up, in words at least, an appearance of attention to the interest of the Dutch, even in their separate negotiation with France.

tifices, he wrote a most obliging letter, which he sent him printed in a fair character.

“ DEAR FRIEND,*

“ When I considered the late ill usage I have met with from you, I was reflecting what it was that could provoke you to it, but upon a narrow inspection into my conduct, I can find nothing to reproach myself with, but too partial a concern for your interest.† You no sooner set this com-

* Parody of the States' letter to Queen Anne, 5th June, 1712, as appears from the passages subjoined.

† “ From the very first day that your majesty ascended the throne, we testified all the deference that you could desire from a state in friendship and alliance with you. We carefully sought after your amity and affection, and considering the happy effects which a good intelligence, harmony, and union between your majesty and us and the two nations might produce, and have really produced, and the advantage which resulted from thence to both, as well as to the common cause of all the allies, we made it our business hereby to cultivate them, and more and more to gain your majesty's confidence, and to conform ourselves to your sentiments as much as possibly we could.

“ We think that we gave a signal proof of this, particularly with regard to the negotiations of peace ; since not only after we were informed of the conferences formerly held in England upon this subject, we did expect that your majesty would give us an account of them ; having this firm confidence in your friendship for our republic, and in your zeal for the good of the common cause, that nothing would be done to prejudice us, nor the other allies : But also when your majesty communicated to us the preliminary articles signed by M. Mesnager in England, and when you proposed to us the calling and holding a congress for a general peace, and required of us to grant for this end necessary passports for the enemies ministers, we consented to it, though we had many reasons, which to us seemed very well grounded, not to enter into such a treaty without a better foundation, or at least without the concurrence of the other allies ; but we preferred your Majesty's sentiments to our own, in order to give you a new proof of our deference.”—*Letter from the States.*

position a-foot, but I was ready to comply, and prevented your very wishes ; and the affair might have been ended before now, had it not been for the greater concerns of esquire South, and the other poor creatures embarked in the same common cause, whose safety touches me to the quick. * You seemed a little jealous, that I had dealt unfairly with you in money matters, till it appeared by your own accounts, that there was something due to me upon the balance. Having nothing to answer to so plain a demonstration, you began to complain, as if I had been familiar with your reputation ; when it is well known, not only I, but the meanest servants in my family, talk of you with the utmost respect. I have always, as far as in me lies, exhorted your servants and tenants to be dutiful : not that I any way meddle in your domestic affairs, which were very unbecoming for me to do. If some of your servants express their great concern for you, in a manner that is not so very polite, you ought to impute it to their extraordinary zeal, which deserves a reward rather than a reproof. You cannot reproach me for want of success at the Salutation, since I am not master of the passions and

* " Had that plan related only to your majesty's interest and ours, we should perhaps have been in the wrong not to have forthwith come into it, though even in that case the affair would not have been without its difficulties, since the least notice of it, which should have come to the enemy, must have been very prejudicial : But, as the plan in question concerned the interest of all the allies, and almost all Europe, we had very strong apprehensions, that the particular negotiations betwixt your majesty's ministers and those of France, and the readiness with which we consented to the congress at Utrecht, and to the giving of passports, would occasion abundance of suspicions, and much uneasiness, to his imperial majesty and the other allies."—*Ibid.*

interests of other folks.* I have beggared myself with this law-suit, undertaken merely in complaisance to you; and if you would have had but a little patience, I had still greater things in reserve, that I intended to have done for you.—

* “We thought these reasons strong enough to justify our conduct to your majesty on this head; and if we did not enter with all the readiness which you might have wished for into the concert proposed, we hope that at most, your majesty will look upon our backwardness only as an excess of prudence, or of scruple, and not in the least as a want of confidence in your majesty; while the allies might have considered it as a departing from the treaties, and particularly from the eighth article of the grand alliance. We also hope that your majesty, for the reasons here alleged, will lay aside those hard thoughts of us, as if we had not answered as we ought, the advances which your majesty made towards us, and that we would not act in concert with your ministers upon the subject of the peace. But, madam, though your majesty should not acquiesce in our reasons, (of which, however, we cannot doubt,) we pray your majesty to consider, whether that be sufficient for your majesty to think that you are disengaged from all obligations with respect to us.

“Had we acted against, and contravened the engagements and treaties which we had the honour to conclude with your majesty, we might have expected, from your goodness and justice, that you would have represented those contraventions to us, and not have looked upon yourself to be disengaged, till such time as we had refused to give all necessary redress. But, as we did no ways engage to enter with your majesty into a concert to draw up a plan of peace, without the participation of the other members of the grand alliance, the backwardness we have shewn upon that head, cannot be looked upon as contravention of our engagements, and therefore cannot serve to disengage your majesty from yours, with respect to us, since we are verily persuaded that we have fully answered all our treaties, and all our alliances, both with your majesty, and with the allies in general; and that we have done more in this present war, than could, in justice and equity, have been expected from us. All the difference betwixt your majesty and us in this point, is no more, if rightly considered, than a disparity of sentiments.”—*Ibid.*

I hope what I have said will prevail with you to lay aside your unreasonable jealousies, and that we may have no more meetings at the Salutation, spending our time and money to no purpose.*—My concern for your welfare and prosperity almost makes me mad. You may be assured I will continue to be

“ Your affectionate

“ Friend and servant,

“ Nic. Frog.”

John received this with a good deal of *sans froid*: transeat, quoth John, *cum cæteris erroribus*. He was now at his ease; he saw he could now make a very good bargain for himself, and a very safe one for other folks, “ My shirt,” quoth he, “ is near me, but my skin is nearer: while I take care of the welfare of other folks, nobody can blame me to apply a little balsam to my own sores. It’s a pretty thing, after all, for a man to do his own business; a man has such a tender concern for himself, there’s nothing like it. This is something better, I trow, than for John Bull to be standing in the market, like a great dray-horse, with Frog’s paws upon his head. What will you give me for this beast?—Serviteur, Nic. Frog,

* “ We expect also, that after having given such great and signal proofs of your wisdom, of your firmness, and of your zeal for the support of the common cause, your majesty will not now take such resolutions as may be prejudicial to us and to the other allies; but that, in order to obtain an honourable, sure, and general peace, you will pursue the same methods, and keep to the same maxims which you formerly held, and which Almighty God hath blessed in so remarkable a manner, by victories and great events, which will render the glory of your majesty’s reign immortal.”—*Ibid.*

you may kiss my backside if you please. Though John Bull has not read your Aristotles, Platoes, and Machiavels, he can see as far into a millstone as another." With that John began to chuckle and laugh, till he was like to have burst his sides.

CHAP. VI.

*The Discourse that passed between Nic. Frog and Esquire South, which John Bull overheard.**

JOHN thought every minute a year, till he got into Ecclesdown castle; he repairs to the Salutation, with a design to break the matter gently to his partners; before he entered, he overheard Nic. and the esquire in a very pleasant conference.

Esq. South. O the ingratitude and injustice of mankind! that John Bull, whom I have honoured with my friendship and protection so long, should flinch at last, and pretend that he can disburse no more money for me! that the family of the Souths, by his sneaking temper, should be kept out of their own!

Nic. Frog. An't like your worship, I am in amaze at it; I think the rogue should be compelled to his duty.

Esq. South. That he should prefer his scandalous pelf, the dust and dregs of the earth, to the prosperity and grandeur of my family!

* Negotiations between the emperor and the Dutch for continuing the war, and getting the property of Flanders.

Nic. Frog. Nay, he is mistaken there too; for he would quickly lick himself whole again by his vails. It's strange he should prefer Philip Baboon's custom to Esquire South's.

Esq. South. As you say, that my clothier, that is to get so much by the purchase, should refuse to put me in possession; did you ever know any man's tradesmen serve him so before?

Nic. Frog. No, indeed, an't please your worship, it is a very unusual proceeding; and I would not have been guilty of it for the world. If your honour had not a great stock of moderation and patience, you would not bear it so well as you do.

Esq. South. It is most intolerable, that's certain, *Nic.*, and I will be revenged.

Nic. Frog. Methinks it is strange, that Philip Baboon's tenants* do not all take your honour's part, considering how good and gentle a master you are.

Esq. South. True, *Nic.*, but few are sensible of merit in this world: it is a great comfort to have so faithful a friend as thyself, in so critical a juncture.

Nic. Frog. If all the world should forsake you, be assured *Nic. Frog* never will; let us stick to our point, and we'll manage Bull, I'll warrant ye.

Esq. South. Let me kiss thee, dear *Nic.*, I have found one honest man among a thousand at last.

Nic. Frog. If it were possible, your honour has it in your power to wed me still closer to your interest.

Esq. South. Tell me quickly, dear *Nic.*

Nic. Frog. You know I am your tenant; the difference between my lease and an inheritance

* The Spaniards, who shewed no great attachment to the house of Austria.

is such a trifle, as I am sure you will not grudge your poor friend; that will be an encouragement to go on; besides, it will make Bull as mad as the devil: you and I shall be able to manage him then to some purpose.

Esq. South. Say no more, it shall be done, Nic., to thy heart's content.

John all this while was listening to this comical dialogue, and laughed heartily in his sleeve at the pride and simplicity of the esquire, and the sly roguery of his friend Nic. Then, of a sudden, bolting into the room, he began to tell them, that he believed he had brought Lewis to reasonable terms, if they would please to hear them.

Then they all bawl'd out aloud, "No composition, Long live esquire South and the law!" As John was going to proceed, some roared, some stamped with their feet, others stopped their ears with their fingers.

Nay, gentlemen, quoth John, if you will but stop proceeding for a while, you shall judge yourselves whether Lewis's* proposals are reasonable.

All. Very fine indeed, stop proceeding, and so lose a term! †

J. Bull. Not so neither, we have something by way of advance, he will put us in possession of his manor and castle of Ecclesdown.

Nic. Frog. What dost thou talk of us? thou meanest thyself.

J. Bull. When Frog took possession of any thing, it was always said to be for us, and why

* Proposals for cessation of arms and delivery of Dunkirk.

† When the English envoy at Utrecht proposed a cessation of arms, those of the allies exclaimed, that they would lose thereby the fairest prospect of a successful campaign, which the war had yet offered.

may not John Bull be us, as well as Nic. Frog was us? I hope John Bull is no more confined to singularity than Nic. Frog; or, take it so, the constant doctrine that thou hast preached up for many years, was, That Thou and I are One; and why must we be supposed Two in this case, that were always One before? It's impossible that Thou and I can fall out, Nic.; we must trust one another; I have trusted thee with a great many things, prithee trust me with this one trifle.

Nic. Frog. That principle is true in the main, but there is some specialty in this case, that makes it highly inconvenient for us both.

J. Bull. Those are your jealousies, that the common enemies sow between us; how often hast thou warned me of those rogues, Nic., that would make us mistrustful of one another?

Nic. Frog. This Ecclesdown castle is only a bone of contention.

J. Bull. It depends upon you to make it so, for my part I am as peaceable as a lamb.

Nic. Frog. But do you consider the unwholesomeness of the air and soil, the expenses of reparations and servants? I would scorn to accept of such a quagmire.

J. Bull. You are a great man, Nic., but in my circumstances, I must be e'en content to take it as it is.

Nic. Frog. And you are really so silly, as to believe the old cheating rogue will give it you?

J. Bull. I believe nothing but matter of fact, I stand and fall by that; I am resolved to put him to it.

Nic. Frog. And so relinquish the hopefullest cause in the world, a claim that will certainly in the end make thy fortune for ever!

J. Bull. Wilt thou purchase it, Nic.? thou shalt

have a lumping pennyworth; nay, rather than we should differ, I'll give thee something to take it off my hands.

Nic. Frog. If thou would'st but moderate that hasty impatient temper of thine, thou should'st quickly see a better thing than all that. What should'st thou think to find old Lewis turned out of his paternal estates, and the mansion-house of Claypool? Would not that do thy heart good, to see thy old friend Nic. Frog, Lord of Claypool? * that thou and thy wife and children should walk in my gardens, buy toys, drink lemonade, and now and then we should have a country dance.

J. Bull. I love to be plain; I'd as lieve see myself in Ecclesdown castle, as thee in Claypool.* I tell you again, Lewis gives this as a pledge of his sincerity; if you won't stop proceeding to hear him, I will.

CHAP. XXI.

The Rest of Nic's Fetches to keep John out of Ecclesdown Castle.†

WHEN Nic. could not dissuade John by argument, he tried to move his pity; he pretended to be sick and like to die, that he should leave his wife and children in a starving condition, if John

* Claypool. Paris. Lutetia.

† Attempts to hinder the cessation, and taking possession of Dunkirk.

did abandon him; that he was hardly able to crawl about the room, far less capable to look after such a troublesome business as this lawsuit, and therefore begged that his good friend would not leave him. When he saw that John was still inexorable, he pulled out a case-knife, with which he used to snick and snee, and threatened to cut his own throat. Thrice he aimed the knife to his windpipe, with a most determined threatening air. "What signifies life," quoth he, "in this languishing condition? It will be some pleasure, that my friends will revenge my death upon this barbarous man, that has been the cause of it." All this while John looked sedate and calm, neither offering in the least to snatch the knife, nor stop his blow, trusting to the tenderness Nic. had for his own person: when he perceived that John was immoveable in his purpose, he applied himself to Lewis.

"Art thou," quoth he, "turned bubble in thy old age, from being a sharper in thy youth? What occasion hast thou to give up Ecclesdown castle to John Bull? his friendship is not worth a rush; give it me, and I'll make it worth thy while. If thou dislikest that proposition, keep it thyself; I'd rather thou should'st have it than he. If thou hearkenest not to my advice, take what follows; esquire South and I will go on with our lawsuit in spite of John Bull's teeth."

L. Baboon. Monsieur Bull has used me like a gentleman, and I am resolved to make good my promise, and trust him for the consequences.

Nic. Frog. Then I tell thee, thou art an old dotting fool.—With that, Nic. bounced up with a spring equal to that of one of your nimblest tumblers or rope-dancers, and fell foul upon John Bull,

to snatch the cudgel* he had in his hand, that he might thwack Lewis with it: John held it fast, so that there was no wrenching it from him. At last 'Squire South buckled to, to assist his friend Nic.: John hauled on one side, and they two on the other; sometimes they were like to pull John over; then it went all of a sudden again on John's side; so they went see-sawing up and down, from one end of the room to the other. Down tumbled the tables, bottles, glasses, and tobacco-pipes: the wine and the tobacco were all spilt about the room, and the little fellows were almost trod under foot, till more of the tradesmen, joining with Nic. and the 'squire, John was hardly able to pull against them all, yet would he never quit hold of his trusty cudgel: which, by the contrary force of two so great powers, broke short in his hands.† Nic. seized the longer end, and with it began to bastinado old Lewis, who had slunk into a corner, waiting the event of this squabble. Nic. came up to him with an insolent menacing air, so that the old fellow was forced to skuttle out of the room, and retire behind a dungcart.‡ He called to Nic.: "Thou insolent jackanapes! Time was when thou durst not have used me so; thou now takest me unprovided; but, old and

* The allied army.

† The separation of the army, in which the foreign troops, even those in British pay, marched with Prince Eugene, leaving the British forces encamped under the command of the Duke of Ormond, who instantly proclaimed a cessation of arms.

‡ Prince Eugene, during the pendency of the negotiation, dispatched a body of troops under the command of General Grovestein, who ravaged Champagne, and spread alarm even to Paris. The king himself was not judged safe at Versailles, with his usual guards, and all the troops about Paris were summoned to defend his person.

infirm as I am, I shall find a weapon, by and by, to chastise thy impudence."

When John Bull had recovered his breath, he began to parley with Nic.: "Friend Nic., I am glad to find thee so strong, after thy great complaints: really thy motions, Nic., are pretty vigorous for a consumptive man. As for thy worldly affairs, Nic., if it can do thee any service, I freely make over to thee this profitable lawsuit, and I desire all these gentlemen to bear witness to this my act and deed. Yours be all the gain, as mine has been the charges; I have brought it to bear finely: However, all I have laid out upon it goes for nothing; thou shalt have it with all its appurtenances; I ask nothing but leave to go home."

Nic. Frog. The counsel are feed, and all things prepared for a trial; thou shalt be forced to stand the issue: it shall be pleaded in thy name as well as mine: go home if thou canst; the gates are shut, the turnpikes locked, and the roads barricaded.*

J. Bull. Even these very ways, Nic., that thou toldest me were as open to me as thyself? If I can't pass with my own equipage, what can I expect for my goods and waggons? I am denied passage through those very grounds that I have purchased with my own money: however, I am glad I have made the experiment, it may serve me in some stead.

[John Bull was so overjoyed that he was going to take possession of Ecclesdown, that nothing

* Difficulty of the march of part of the army to Dunkirk, owing to their being refused passage through the towns garrisoned by the Dutch and allied forces. Vol. v. p. 348.

could vex him. "Nic.," quoth he, "I am just a going to leave thee; cast a kind look upon me at parting."

Nic. looked sour and grum, and would not open his mouth.]

J. Bull. I wish thee all the success that thy heart can desire, and that these honest gentlemen of the long robe may have their bellyful of law.

[Nic. could stand it no longer; but flung out of the room with disdain, and beckoned the lawyers to follow him.]

J. Bull. B'uy, b'uy, Nic.; not one poor smile at parting? won't you shake your day-day, Nic.? b'uy, Nic.—With that, John marched out of the common road, 'cross the country, to take possession of Ecclesdown.*

CHAP. VI.

Of the great Joy that John expressed when he got Possession of Ecclesdown.

WHEN John had got into his castle, he seemed like Ulysses upon his plank, after he had been well soused in salt water: who (as Homer says) was as glad as a judge going to sit down to din-

* The Duke of Ormond having indicated a resolution to make his way through Flanders by force, and having actually possessed himself of Ghent, the Dutch thought proper to apologize for the interruption offered to his march. Vol. v. p. 350.

ner, after hearing a long cause upon the bench. I dare say John Bull's joy was equal to that of either of the two : he skipped from room to room; ran up stairs and down stairs, from the kitchen to the garrets, and from the garrets to the kitchen; he peeped into every cranny; sometimes he admired the beauty of the architecture, and the vast solidity of the mason's work; at other times he commended the symmetry and proportion of the rooms. He walked about the gardens; he bathed himself in the canal, swimming, diving, and beating the liquid element, like a milk-white swan. The hall resounded with the sprightly violin, and the martial hautboy. The family tript it about and capered, like hailstones bounding from a marble floor. Wine, ale, and October flew about as plentifully as kennel-water : * then a frolic took John in the head to call up some of Nic. Frog's pensioners, that had been so mutinous in his family.

J. Bull. Are you glad to see your master in Ecclesdown castle?

All. Yes, indeed, sir.

J. Bull. Extremely glad?

All. Extremely glad, sir.

J. Bull. Swear to me, that you are so.

Then they began to damn and sink their souls

* " Upon the arrival of Colonel Disney at court, with an account that Mr Hill had taken possession of Dunkirk, a universal joy spread over the kingdom; this event being looked on as the certain forerunner of a peace: besides, the French faith was in so ill a reputation among us, that many persons, otherwise sanguine enough, could never bring themselves to believe that the town would be delivered, till certain intelligence came that it was actually in our hands." Vol. v. p. 351.

to the lowest pit of hell, if any person in the world rejoiced more than they did.

J. Bull. Now hang me if I don't believe you are a parcel of perjured rascals; however, take this bumper of October to your master's health.

Then John got upon the battlements, and, looking over, he called to Nic. Frog:

"How d'ye do, Nic.? D'ye see where I am, Nic.? I hope the cause goes on swimmingly, Nic. When dost thou intend to go to Claypool, Nic.? Wilt thou buy there some high heads of the newest cut for my daughters? How comest thou to go with thy arm tied up? Has old Lewis given thee a rap over thy fingers-ends?*" Thy weapon was a good one, when I wielded it, but the butt-end remains in my hands. I am so busy in packing up my goods, that I have no time to talk with thee any longer. It would do thy heart good to see what waggon-loads I am preparing for market. If thou wantest any good office of mine, for all that has happened, I will use thee well, Nic. B'uy, Nic."

* After the separation of the British forces from the allied army, the French defeated the latter before Denain.

POSTSCRIPT.

It has been disputed among the literati of Grub-street, whether Sir Humphry proceeded any farther into the history of John Bull. By diligent enquiry we have found the titles of some chapters, which appear to be a continuation of it: and are as follow :

CHAP. I. *How John was made angry with the articles of agreement. How he kicked the parchment through the house, up stairs and down stairs, and put himself in a great heat thereby.**

CHAP. II. *How in his passion he was going to cut off Sir Roger's head with a cleaver. Of the strange manner of Sir Roger's escaping the blow, by laying his head upon the dresser.†*

CHAP. III. *How some of John's servants attempted to scale his house with rope-ladders; and how many unfortunately dangled in the same.‡*

CHAP. IV. *Of the methods by which John endeavoured to preserve peace among his neighbours: how he kept a pair of steelyards to weigh them;*

* After the death of Queen Anne, the treaty of Utrecht was declared contrary to the interests of Britain, and the managers were impeached.

† The Earl of Oxford, after two years imprisonment in the Tower, was brought to trial for high treason in 1717, when a difference arising between the Lords and Commons, the latter failed to appear to support the impeachment, and Oxford was of course unanimously acquitted.

‡ The rebellion in 1715, and execution of the leaders.

*and by diet, purging, vomiting, and bleeding, tried to bring them to equal bulk and strength.**

CHAP. V. *Of false accounts of the weights given in by some of the journeymen; and of the Newmarket tricks that were practised at the steelyards.*

CHAP. VI. *How John's new journeymen brought him other guise accounts of the steelyards.*

CHAP. VII. *How Sir Swain Northy† was, by bleeding, purging, and a steel diet, brought into a consumption; and how John was forced afterward to give him the gold cordial. ‡*

CHAP. VIII. *How Peter Bear § was overfed, and afterward refused to submit to the course of physick. ||*

CHAP. IX. *How John pampered Esquire South with tit-bits, till he grew wanton; how he got drunk with Calabrian wine, and longed for Sicilian beef, and how John carried him thither in his barge. ¶*

CHAP. X. *How the esquire, from a foul feeder, grew dainty; how he longed for mangoes, spices, and Indian birdnests, &c. and could not sleep but in a chintz bed.*

CHAP. XI. *The esquire turned tradesman; how he set up a China-shop ** over against Nic. Frog.*

* The schemes to preserve the balance of power.

† King of Sweden, with whom King George I. had a rupture in 1716, in consequence of which all intercourse with Sweden was prohibited.

‡ Peace with Ulrica, Queen of Sweden, in 1718, by which Bremen and Verden were ceded to Hanover, and King George became bound to pay to the queen a million of rix-dollars.

§ Czar of Muscovy.

|| Czar Peter refused to accede to the treaty with Sweden, or to give up his schemes of conquest.

¶ The assistance rendered to the imperialists in the conquest of Sicily, by the British fleet under Byng.

** The Ostend Company, established by Austria for trading to the East Indies.

CHAP. XII. *How he procured Spanish flies to blister his neighbours, and as a provocative to himself. As likewise how he ravished Nic. Frog's favourite daughter.**

CHAP. XIII. *How Nic. Frog hearing the girl squeak, went to call John Bull as a constable; calling of a constable no preventive of a rape. †*

CHAP. XIV. *How John rose out of his bed in a cold morning to prevent a duel between Esquire South and Lord Strutt; how, to his great surprise, he found the combatants drinking Geneva in a brandy-shop, with Nic's favourite daughter between them. How they both fell upon John, so that he was forced to fight his way out. ‡*

CHAP. XV. *How John came with his constable's staff to rescue Nic's daughter, and break the esquire's China-ware.*

CHAP. XVI. *Commentary upon the Spanish proverb, Time and I against any two; or advice to dogmatical politicians, exemplified in some new affairs between John Bull and Lewis Baboon. §*

CHAP. XVII. *A discourse of the delightful game of quadrille. How Lewis Baboon attempted to play a game solo in clubs, and was beasted; how John*

* Interference of the new company at Ostend with the Dutch East India trade.

† The Dutch made representations to England on the subject of the Ostend Company.

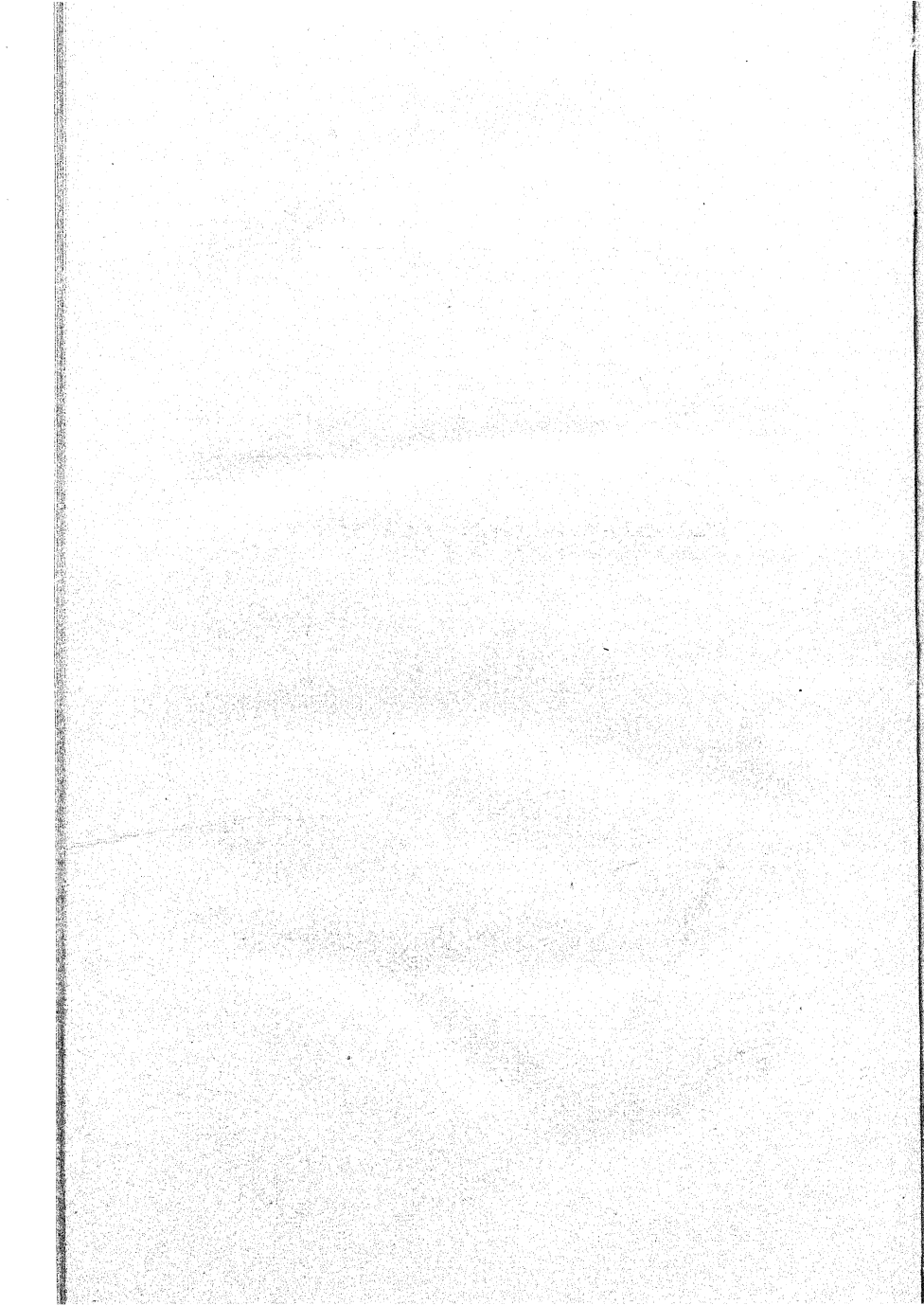
‡ By the congress of Cambray, George I. was to have been sole arbiter between the Emperor and Queen of Spain. But they concluded a private negotiation without his intervention, by which Spain guaranteed the Ostend trade to the East Indies.

§ The King of England entered into a treaty with France and Prussia, with a view to guarantee the exclusive commerce of England and Holland against the Emperor.

*called Lewis for his king, and was afraid that
his own partner should have too many tricks; and
how the success and skill of quadrille depends upon
calling a right king.**

* The same satire recurs in the ballad entitled *Quadrille*, which gave much offence to George I.

A party late at Cambray met,
Which drew all Europe's eyes;
'Twas called, in Post-Boy and Gazette,
The Quadruple Allies.
But somebody took something ill,
Which broke this party at Quadrille,



PROPOSALS

FOR PRINTING A VERY

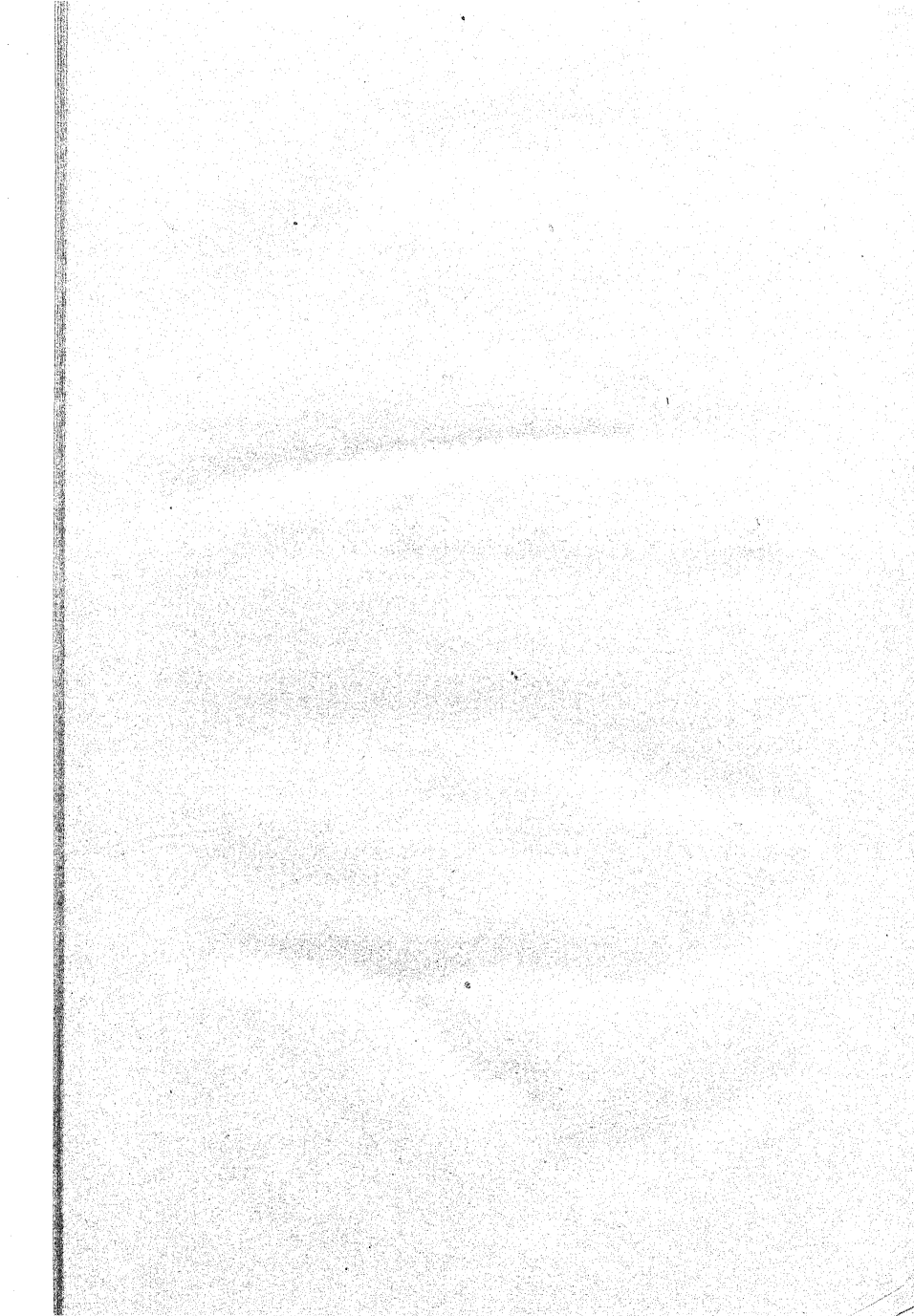
CURIOUS DISCOURSE,

ENTITLED

ΨΕΥΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ;

OR,

THE ART OF POLITICAL LYING.

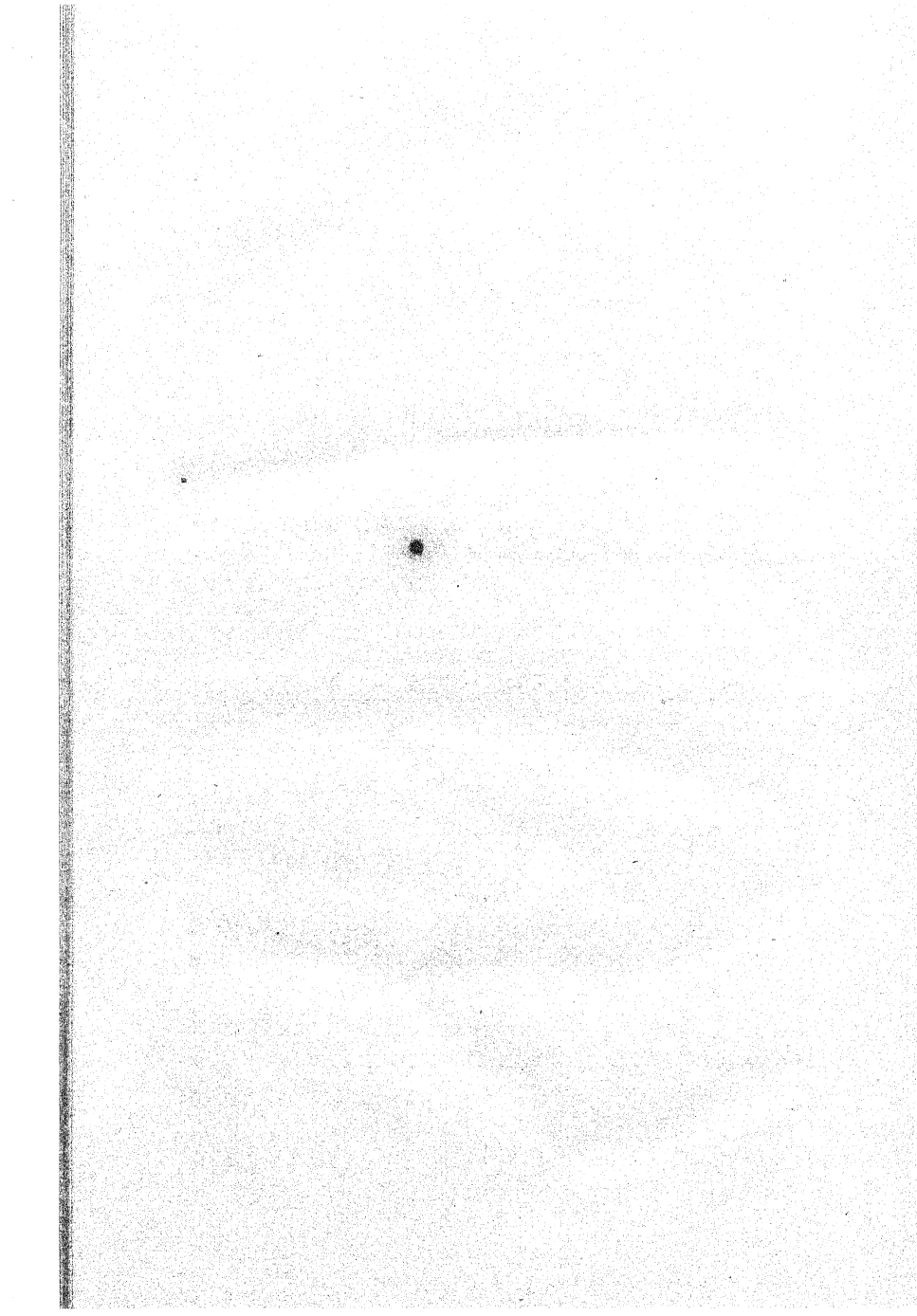


PROPOSALS, &c.

THIS tract was written by Dr Arbuthnot. It is expanded from the hints given in the Examiner, No. XIV. Swift had probably a considerable share in it, as it passed through his hands to the press. He thus expresses himself on the subject:

"Arbuthnot has sent me, from Windsor, a pretty *Discourse upon Lying*; and I have ordered the printer to come for it. It is a Proposal for publishing a curious piece, called, *The Art of Political Lying, in two volumes, &c.*; and then there is an abstract of the first volume, just like those pamphlets, which they call "*The Works of the Learned.*" Journal to Stella, Oct. 9, 1712.

"The pamphlet of *Political Lying* is written by Dr Arbuthnot, the author of *John Bull*. It is very pretty, but not so obvious to be understood." Ibid. Dec. 12.



PROPOSALS

FOR PRINTING A VERY

CURIOUS DISCOURSE, &c.

THERE is now in the press, a curious piece, entitled, *Ψευδολογία Πολιτική*; or, The Art of Political Lying: consisting of two volumes in quarto.

THE PROPOSALS ARE,

I. That if the author meets with suitable encouragement, he intends to deliver the first volume to the subscribers by Hilary Term next.

II. The price of both volumes will be, to the subscribers, fourteen shillings, seven whereof are to be paid down, and the other seven at the delivery of the second volume.

III. Those that subscribe for six, shall have a seventh *gratis*; which reduces the price to less than six shillings a volume.

IV. That the subscribers shall have their names and places of abode printed at length.

For the encouragement of so useful a work, it is thought fit the public should be informed of the contents of the first volume, by one who has with great care perused the manuscript.

THE
ART
OF
POLITICAL LYING

THE author, in his preface, makes some very judicious reflections upon the original of arts and sciences: that at first they consist of scattered theorems and practices, which are handed about among the masters, and only revealed to the *jilii artis*, till such time as some great genius appears, who collects these disjointed propositions, and reduces them into a regular system. That this is the case of that noble and useful art of Political Lying, which in this last age having been enriched with several new discoveries, ought not to lie any longer in rubbish and confusion, but may justly claim a place in the Encyclopædia, especially such as serves for a model of education for an able politician. That he proposes to himself no small stock of fame in future ages, in being the first who has undertaken this design; and for the same reason he hopes the imperfection of his work will be excused. He invites all persons who have any talents that way, or any new discovery, to communicate their thoughts, assuring them that honourable mention shall be made of them in his work.

The First Volume consists of Eleven Chapters.

In the first chapter of his excellent treatise, he reasons philosophically concerning the nature of the soul of man, and those qualities which render it susceptible of lies. He supposes the soul to be of the nature of a plano-cylindrical speculum, or looking-glass; that the plain side was made by God Almighty, but that the devil afterward wrought the other side into a cylindrical figure. The plain side represents objects just as they are; and the cylindrical side, by the rules of catoptrics, must needs represent true objects false, and false objects true: but the cylindrical side being much the larger surface, takes in a greater compass of visual rays. That upon the cylindrical side of the soul of man depends the whole art and success of political lying. The author, in this chapter, proceeds to reason upon the qualities of the mind: as its peculiar fondness of the malicious and miraculous. The tendency of the soul toward the malicious, springs from self-love, or a pleasure to find mankind more wicked, base, or unfortunate, than ourselves. The design of the miraculous proceeds from the inactivity of the soul, or its incapacity to be moved or delighted with any thing that is vulgar or common. The author having established the qualities of the mind, upon which his art is founded, he proceeds,

In his second chapter, to treat of the nature of political lying; which he defines to be, "the art of convincing the people of salutary falsehoods, for some good end." He calls it an art, to distinguish from that of telling truth, which does not seem to want art; but then he would have this

understood only as to the invention, because there is indeed more art necessary to convince the people of a salutary truth, than a salutary falsehood. Then he proceeds to prove, that there are salutary falsehoods, of which he gives a great many instances, both before and after the revolution; and demonstrates plainly, that we could not have carried on the war so long without several of those salutary falsehoods. He gives rules to calculate the value of a political lie, in pounds, shillings, and pence. By good, he does not mean that which is absolutely so, but what appears so to the artist, which is a sufficient ground for him to proceed upon; and he distinguishes the good, as it commonly is, into *bonum utile, dulce, et honestum*. He shows you that there are political lies of a mixed nature, which include all the three in different respects: that the *utile* reigns generally about the Exchange, the *dulce* and *honestum* at the Westminster end of the town. One man spreads a lie to sell or buy stock to greater advantage; a second, because it is honourable to serve his party; and a third, because it is sweet to gratify his revenge. Having explained the several terms of his definition, he proceeds,

In his third chapter, to treat of the lawfulness of political lying; which he deduces from its true and genuine principles, by inquiring into the several rights, that mankind have to truth. He shows that people have a right to private truth from their neighbours, and economical truth from their own family; that they should not be abused by their wives, children, and servants; but that they have no right at all to political truth; that the people may as well all pretend to be lords of manors, and possess great estates, as to have truth told them in matters of government.

The author, with great judgment, states the several shares of mankind in this matter of truth, according to their several capacities, dignities, and professions; and shows you, that children have hardly any share at all; in consequence of which, they have very seldom any truth told them. It must be owned, that the author, in this chapter, has some seeming difficulties to answer, and texts of scripture to explain.

The fourth chapter is wholly employed in this question, "Whether the right of coinage of political lies be wholly in the government?" The author, who is a true friend to English liberty, determines in the negative, and answers all the arguments of the opposite party with great acuteness: that as the government of England has a mixture of democratical in it, so the right of inventing and spreading political lies is partly in the people; and their obstinate adherence to this just privilege has been most conspicuous, and shined with great lustre of late years: that it happens very often, that there are no other means left to the good people of England to pull down a ministry and government they are weary of, but by exercising this their undoubted right: that abundance of political lying is a sure sign of true English liberty: that as ministers do sometimes use tools to support their power, it is but reasonable that the people should employ the same weapon to defend themselves, and pull them down.

In his fifth chapter, he divides political lies into several species and classes, and gives precepts about the inventing, spreading, and propagating the several sorts of them: he begins with the *rumores* and *libelli famosi*, such as concern the reputation of men in power: where he finds fault

with the common mistake, that takes notice only of one sort, viz. the detractory or defamatory; whereas in truth there are three sorts, the detractory, the additory, and the translatory. The additory gives to a great man a larger share of reputation than belongs to him, to enable him to serve some good end or purpose. The detractory, or defamatory, is a lie, which takes from a great man the reputation that justly belongs to him, for fear he should use it to the detriment of the public. The translatory is a lie, that transfers the merit of a man's good action to another, who is in himself more deserving; or transfers the demerit of a bad action from the true author to a person, who is in himself less deserving. He gives several instances of very great strokes in all the three kinds, especially in the last, when it was necessary, for the good of the public, to bestow the valour and conduct of one man upon another, and that of many to one man: nay even, upon a good occasion, a man may be robbed of his victory by a person that did not command in the action.* The restoring and destroying the

* Major-general Webb obtained a glorious victory over the French, near Wynendale, in the year 1708. He was sent with 6000 of the confederate troops to guard a great convoy to the allied army besieging Lisle: Count de la Motte came out from Ghent, with near 24,000 men, to intercept them; but major-general Webb disposed his men with such admirable skill, that notwithstanding the vast superiority of numbers, by the pure force of order and disposition, the French were driven back in two or three successive attempts; and, after having lost 6 or 7000 men, could be brought to charge no more. This may justly be reckoned among the greatest actions of that war: but the duke of Marlborough's secretary, in his letter written to England, gave all the honour of it to general Cadogan, the duke's favourite, who did not come up till after the engagement. This was so resented by general Webb, that he left the army in disgust: and, coming into

public, may be ascribed to persons, who had no hand in either. The author exhorts all gentlemen practitioners to exercise themselves in the translatory, because the existence of the things themselves being visible, and not demanding any proof, there wants nothing to be put upon the public, but a false author, or a false cause; which is no great presumption upon the credulity of mankind, to whom the secret springs of things are for the most part unknown.

The author proceeds to give some precepts as to the additory: that when one ascribes any thing to a person, which does not belong to him, the lie ought to be calculated not quite contradictory to his known qualities; for example, one would not make the French king present at a protestant conventicle; nor, like queen Elizabeth, restore the overplus of taxes to his subjects. One would not bring in the emperor giving two months pay in advance to his troops; nor the Dutch paying more than their quota.* One would not make the same person† zealous for a standing army, and public liberty; nor an atheist support the church; nor a lewd fellow‡ a reformer of manners; nor a hot-headed, crack-brained coxcomb|| forward for a scheme of moderation. But, if it is absolutely necessary that a person is to have some

England to do himself justice, received the unanimous thanks of the House of Commons, for his eminent services by that great action; which was also acknowledged, in a distinguishing manner, by the king of Prussia, who bestowed on him the order of generosity.—

* He seems to refer to the positions of Dr Hare, in his Defence of the Allies.

† Duke of Marlborough.

‡ Wharton.

|| Steele.

good adventitious quality given him, the author's precept is, that it should not be done at first *in extremo gradu*. For example, they should not make a covetous man give away all at once, five thousand pounds in a charitable, generous way; twenty or thirty pounds may suffice at first. They should not introduce a person of remarkable ingratitude to his benefactors, rewarding a poor man for some good office that was done him thirty years ago: but they may allow him to acknowledge a service to a person, who is capable still to do him another. A man, whose personal courage is suspected, is not at first to drive whole squadrons before him: but he may be allowed the merit* of some squabble, or throwing a bottle at his adversary's head.*

It will not be allowed to make a great man, that is a known despiser of religion, spend whole days in his closet at his devotion; but you may with safety make him sit out public prayers with decency. † A great man, ‡ who has never been known willingly to pay a just debt, ought not, all of a sudden, to be introduced making restitution of thousands he has cheated; let it suffice at first to pay twenty pounds to a friend, who has lost his note.

He lays down the same rules in the detractory or defamatory kind; that they should not be quite opposite to the qualities the persons are supposed to have. Thus it will not be found according to the sound rules of pseudology, to re-

* These insinuations are directed against the duke of Marlborough, whom the supporters of ministry taxed justly with avarice, and plausibly with ingratitude, but most absurdly with personal cowardice.

† The earl of Wharton is again assailed.

‡ Lord Godolphin apparently.

port of a pious and religious prince, that he neglects his devotion, and would introduce heresy;* but you may report of a merciful prince, that he has pardoned a criminal, who did not deserve it. You will be unsuccessful, if you give out of a great man, who is remarkable for his frugality for the public, that he squanders away the nation's money; but you may safely relate that he hoards it: you must not affirm he took a bribe, but you may freely censure him for being tardy in his payments: because, though neither may be true, yet the last is credible, the first not.† Of an open-hearted, generous minister, you are not to say, that he was in an intrigue to betray his country: but you may affirm, with some probability, that he was in an intrigue with a lady:‡ He warns all practitioners to take good heed to these precepts; for want of which, many of their lies of late have proved abortive or short-lived.

In the sixth chapter he treats of the miraculous; by which he understands any thing that exceeds the common degrees of probability. In respect to the people, it is divided into two sorts, the τὸ φοβερὸν or the τὸ θυμωιδές, terrifying lies, and animating or encouraging lies; both being extremely useful on their proper occasions. Concerning the τὸ φοβερὸν he gives several rules; one of which is, that terrible objects should not be too frequently shown to the people, lest they grow familiar. He says, it is absolutely necessary that the people of England should be frightened

* Queen Anne was taxed with favour to the papists.

† The earl of Oxford was remarkably tenacious of the public money, even towards just creditors.

‡ Lord Bolingbroke's gay life is here alluded to.

with the French king and the pretender once a year; but that the bears should be chained up again till that time twelve-month. The want of observing this so necessary a precept, in bringing out the raw head and bloody bones upon every trifling occasion, has produced great indifference in the vulgar of late years.* As to the animating or encouraging lies, he gives the following rules; that they should not far exceed the common degrees of probability; that there should be variety of them; and the same lie not obstinately insisted upon: that the promissory or prognosticating lies should not be upon short days, for fear the authors should have the shame and confusion to see themselves speedily contradicted. He examines, by these rules, that well-meant but unfortunate lie of the conquest of France, which continued near twenty years together:† but at last, by being too obstinately insisted upon, it was worn threadbare, and became unsuccessful.

As to the *réparades*, or the prodigious, he has little to advise, but that their comets, whales, and dragons, should be sizeable; their storms, tempests, and earthquakes, without the reach of a day's journey of a man and horse.

The seventh chapter is wholly taken up in an inquiry, which of the two parties are the greatest artists in political lying. He owns, that sometimes the one party, and sometimes the other, is better believed; but that they have both very good geniuses among them. He attributes the ill success of either party to their glutting the

* The Whig pamphlets of the period uniformly charged on the Tory ministry the design of bringing in the Pretender.

† During the reigns of King William and Queen Anne.

market, and retailing too much of a bad commodity at once : when there is too great a quantity of worms, it is hard to catch gudgeons. He proposes a scheme for the recovery of the credit of any party, which indeed seems to be somewhat chimerical, and does not savour of that sound judgment the author has shown in the rest of the work. It amounts to this, that the party should agree to vent nothing but truth for three months together, which will give them credit for six months lying afterward. He owns, that he believes it almost impossible to find fit persons to execute this scheme. Toward the end of the chapter, he inveighs severely against the folly of parties, in retaining scoundrels, and men of low genius, to retail their lies ; such as most of the present news-writers are ; who, except a strong bent and inclination towards the profession, seem to be wholly ignorant in the rules of pseudology, and not at all qualified for so weighty a trust.

In his next chapter he treats of some extraordinary geniuses, who have appeared of late years, especially in their disposition toward the miraculous. He advises those hopeful young men to turn their invention to the service of their country ; it being inglorious, at this time, to employ their talent in prodigious fox-chases, horse-courses, feats of activity in driving of coaches, jumping, running, swallowing of peaches, pulling out whole sets of teeth to clean, &c.* when their country stands in so much need of their assistance.

The eighth chapter is a project for uniting the several smaller corporations of liars into one so-

* Referring to the numerous advertisements and newspaper paragraphs, containing such marvellous annunciations.

ciety. It is too tedious to give a full account of the whole scheme: what is most remarkable is, that this society ought to consist of the heads of each party: that no lie is to pass current without their approbation, they being the best judges of the present exigences, and what sorts of lies are demanded; that in such a corporation there ought to be men of all professions, that τὸ ἀρέπον, and the τὸ εὐλόγον, that is, decency and probability, may be observed as much as possible: that, beside the persons above-mentioned, this society ought to consist of the hopeful geniuses about the town (of which there are great plenty to be picked up in the several coffeehouses) travellers, virtuosoës, fox-hunters, jockies, attornies, old seamen and soldiers out of the hospitals of Greenwich and Chelsea; to this society, so constituted, ought to be committed the sole management of lying: that in their outer room, there ought always to attend some persons endowed with a great stock of credulity, a generation that thrives mightily in this soil and climate: he thinks a sufficient number of them may be picked up any where about the Exchange: these are to circulate what the others coin; for no man spreads a lie with so good a grace as he that believes it: that the rule of the society be, to invent a lie, and sometimes two for every day; in the choice of which, great regard ought to be had to the weather, and the season of the year: your φοβερά, or terrifying lies, do mighty well in November and December, but not so well in May and June, unless the easterly winds reign: that it ought to be penal for any body to talk of any thing but the lie of the day: that the society is to maintain a sufficient number of spies at court, and other places, to furnish hints and topics for invention, and a gene-

ral correspondence of all the market-towns for circulating their lies: that if any one of the society were observed to blush, or look out of countenance, or want a necessary circumstance in telling the lie, he ought to be expelled, and declared incapable: beside the roaring lies, there ought to be a private committee for whisperers, constituted of the ablest men of the society. Here the author makes a digression in praise of the whig party, for the right understanding and use of proof-lies. A proof-lie is like a proof-charge for a piece of ordnance, to try a standard credulity. Of such a nature he takes transubstantiation to be in the church of Rome, a proof-article, which if any one swallows, they are sure he will digest every thing else: therefore the whig party do wisely, to try the credulity of the people sometimes by swingers, that they may be able to judge, to what height they may charge them afterward. Toward the end of this chapter, he warns the heads of parties against believing their own lies, which has proved of pernicious consequences of late; both a wise party, and a wise nation, having regulated their affairs upon lies of their own invention. The causes of this he supposes to be, too great a zeal and intenseness in the practice of this art, and a vehement heat in mutual conversation, whereby they persuade one another, that what they wish, and report to be true, is really so: that all parties have been subject to this misfortune. The jacobites have been constantly infested with it; but the whigs of late seemed even to exceed them in this ill habit and weakness. To this chapter the author subjoins a calendar of lies, proper for the several months of the year.

The ninth chapter treats of the celerity and duration of lies. As to the celerity of their mo-

tion, the author says it is almost incredible: he gives several instances of lies, that have gone faster than a man can ride post: your terrifying lies travel at a prodigious rate, above ten miles an hour: your whispers move in a narrow vortex, but very swiftly. The author says, it is impossible to explain several phænomena in relation to the celerity of lies, without the supposition of synchronism and combination. As to the duration of lies, he says there are of all sorts, from hours and days, to ages; that there are some, which, like insects, die and revive again in a different form; that good artists, like people who build upon a short lease, will calculate the duration of a lie surely to answer their purpose; to last just as long, and no longer, than the turn is served.

The tenth chapter treats of the characteristics of lies; how to know, when, where, and by whom, invented. Your Dutch, English, and French ware are amply distinguished from one another; an exchange lie from one coined at the other end of the town: great judgment is to be shown as to the place where the species is intended to circulate: very low and base coin will serve for Wapping: there are several coffee-houses, that have their particular stamps, which a judicious practitioner may easily know. All your great men have their proper phantateustics. The author, says he, has attained, by study and application, to so great skill in this matter, that, bring him any lie, he can tell whose image it bears so truly, as the great man himself shall not have the face to deny it. The promissory lies of great men are known by shouldering, hugging, squeezing, smiling, bowing; and their lies in matter of fact, by immoderate swearing.

He spends the whole eleventh chapter on one simple question, Whether a lie is best contradicted by truth, or by another lie? The author says, that, considering the large extent of the cylindrical surface of the soul, and the great propensity to believe lies in the generality of mankind of late years, he thinks the properest contradiction to a lie, is another lie. For example; if it should be reported that the pretender was at London, one would not contradict it by saying, he never was in England; but you must prove by eye-witnesses, that he came no farther than Greenwich, and then went back again. Thus if it be spread about, that a great person were dying of some disease, you must not say the truth, that they are in health, and never had such a disease, but that they are slowly recovering of it. So there was not long ago a gentleman, who affirmed, that the treaty with France, for bringing popery and slavery into England, was signed the 15th of September; to which another answered very judiciously, not, by opposing truth to his lie, that there was no such treaty; but that, to his certain knowledge, there were many things in that treaty not yet adjusted.

[The account of the second volume of this excellent treatise is reserved for another time.]

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALGIERA
RECEIVED ON

15 FEB 1926

ALLAHABAD.

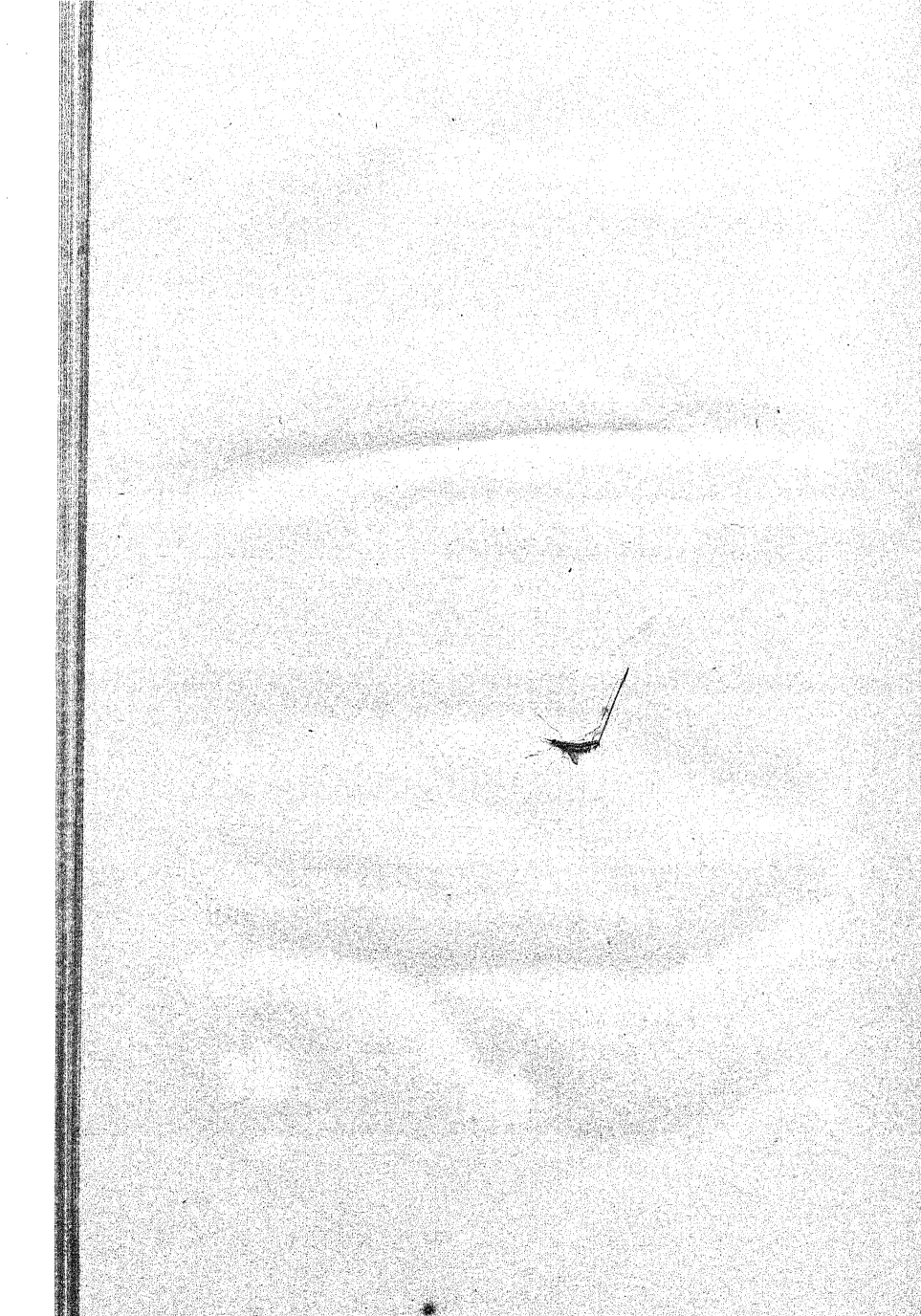
THE
ADDRESS

OF THE
HOUSE OF LORDS

TO
THE QUEEN.

APRIL 9, 1713.

REVISED BY DR SWIFT, AT THE COMMAND OF THE LORD TREASURER;
AND DELIVERED BY THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.



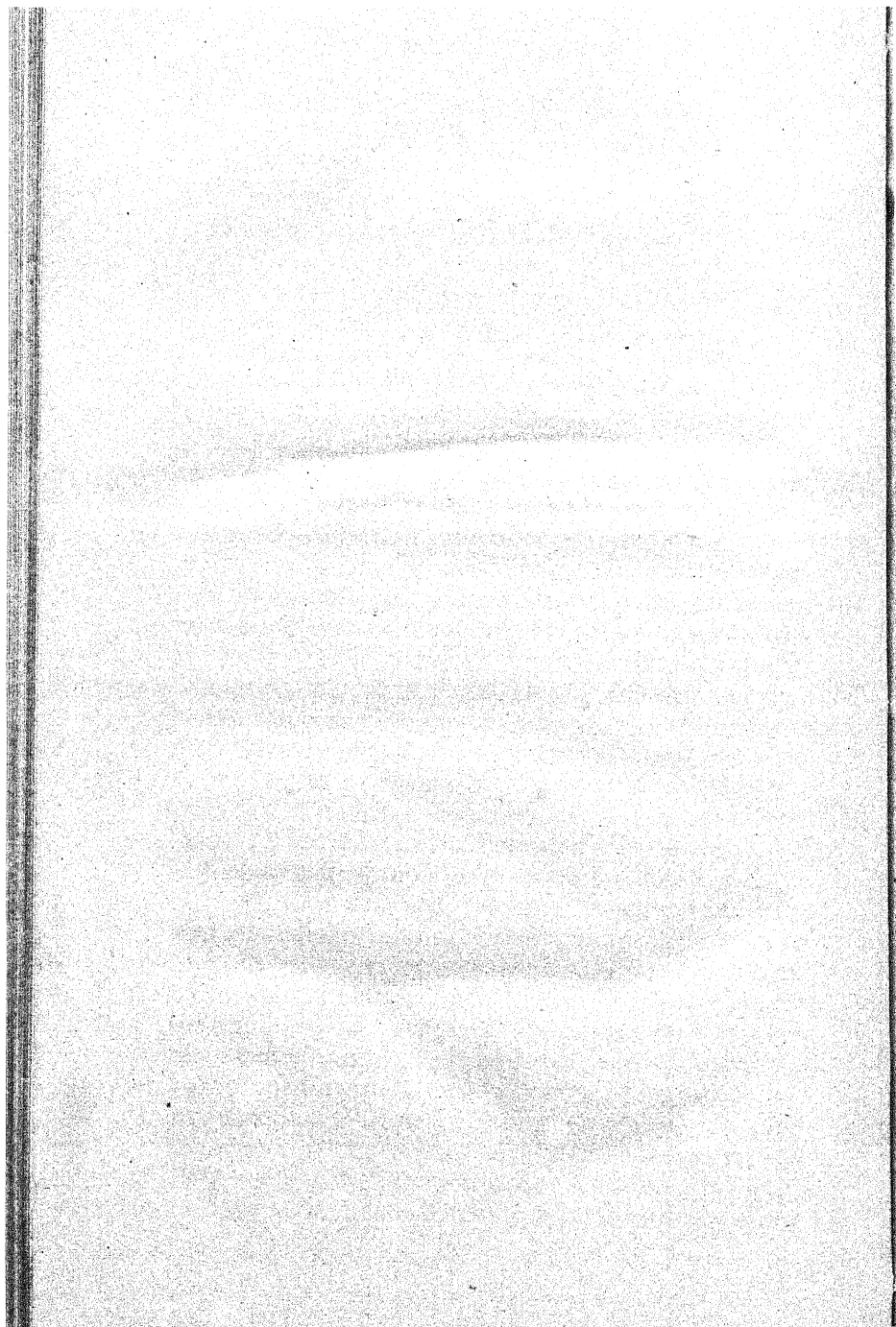
ADDRESS TO THE QUEEN, &c.

"LORD TREASURER shewed me some of the queen's speech, which I corrected in several places; and penned the vote of address of thanks for the speech." *Journal to Stella*, March 8, 1712-13.

"Lord Treasurer engaged me to dine with him to-day; and I had ready what he wanted." *Ibid.* March 15.

"I dined again with Lord Treasurer; but, the parliament being prorogued, I must keep what I have till next week; for I believe he will not see it till the evening before the session." *Ibid.* March 17.

"I dined again with the Lord Treasurer; and though the business I had with him is something against Thursday, when the parliament is to meet, and this is Tuesday, he put it off till to-morrow." *Ibid.* April 7, 1713.



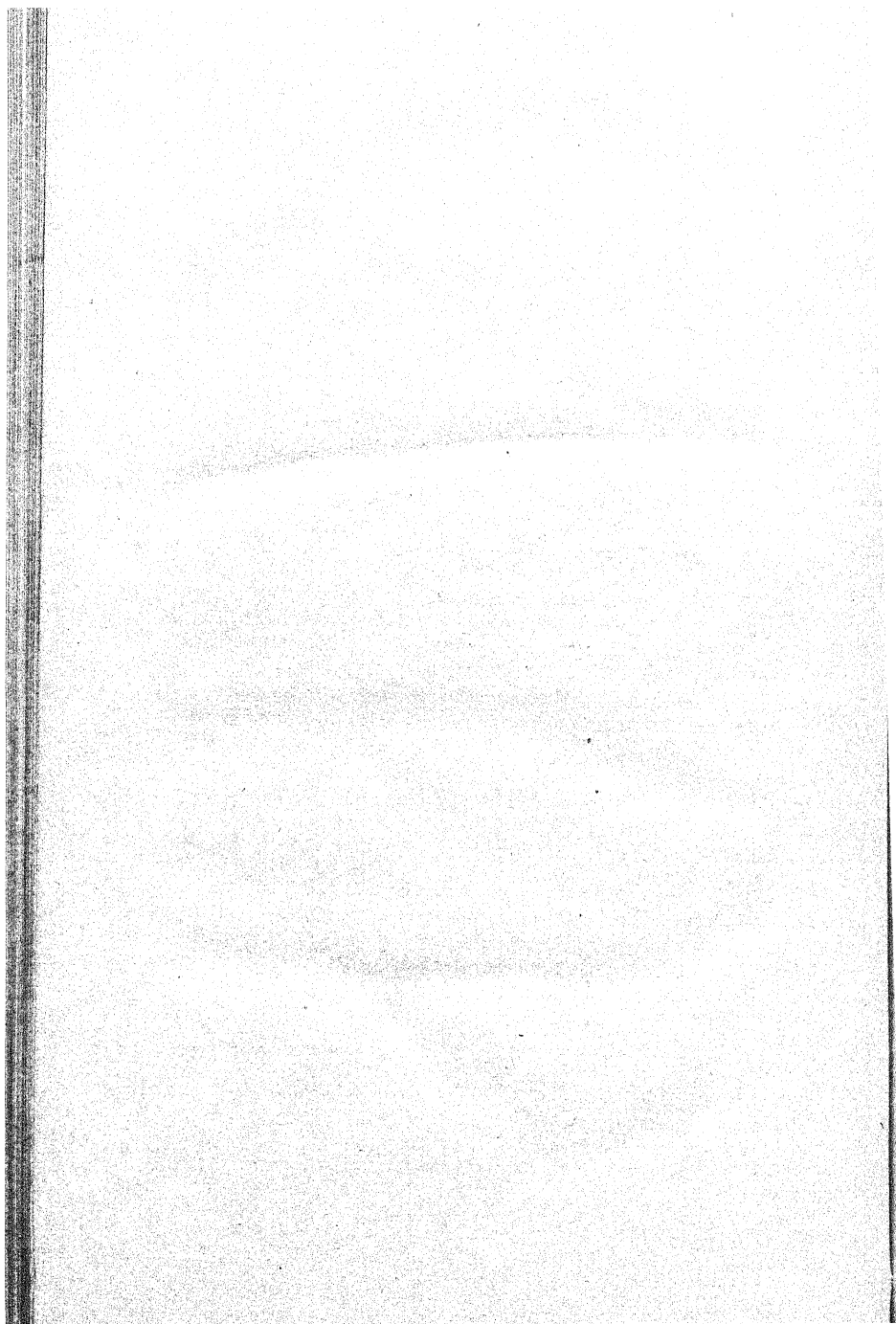
THE
ADDRESS
TO
THE QUEEN.

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, do, with the greatest joy and satisfaction, return our humble thanks to your majesty, for your most gracious speech from the throne; and for communicating to this house that peace is agreed on, so honourable to your majesty, and safe and advantageous to your kingdoms; by which we hope, with the blessing of God, that your people will in a few years recover themselves, after so long and expensive a war. We likewise beg leave to congratulate with your majesty upon the success of your endeavours for a general peace; whereby the tranquillity and welfare of Europe will be owing, (next to the Divine Providence) to your majesty's wisdom and goodness. We never had the least doubt but that your majesty, who is the greatest ornament and protector of the Protestant religion, would do every thing for securing the Protestant succession; towards which nothing can be more necessary than the perfect harmony there is between your majesty and the house of Hanover. And we do humbly assure your majesty, that, as you

are pleased to express your dependence, (next under God,) upon the duty and affection of your people; we think ourselves bound, by the greatest ties of religion, loyalty, and gratitude, to make all returns that can be due, from the most obedient subjects, to the most indulgent sovereign.

A MODEST INQUIRY
INTO THE
REASONS OF THE JOY
EXPRESSED BY
A CERTAIN SET OF PEOPLE,
UPON THE
SPREADING OF A REPORT
OF
HER MAJESTY'S DEATH.

FIRST PUBLISHED, FEB. 4, 1713-14.

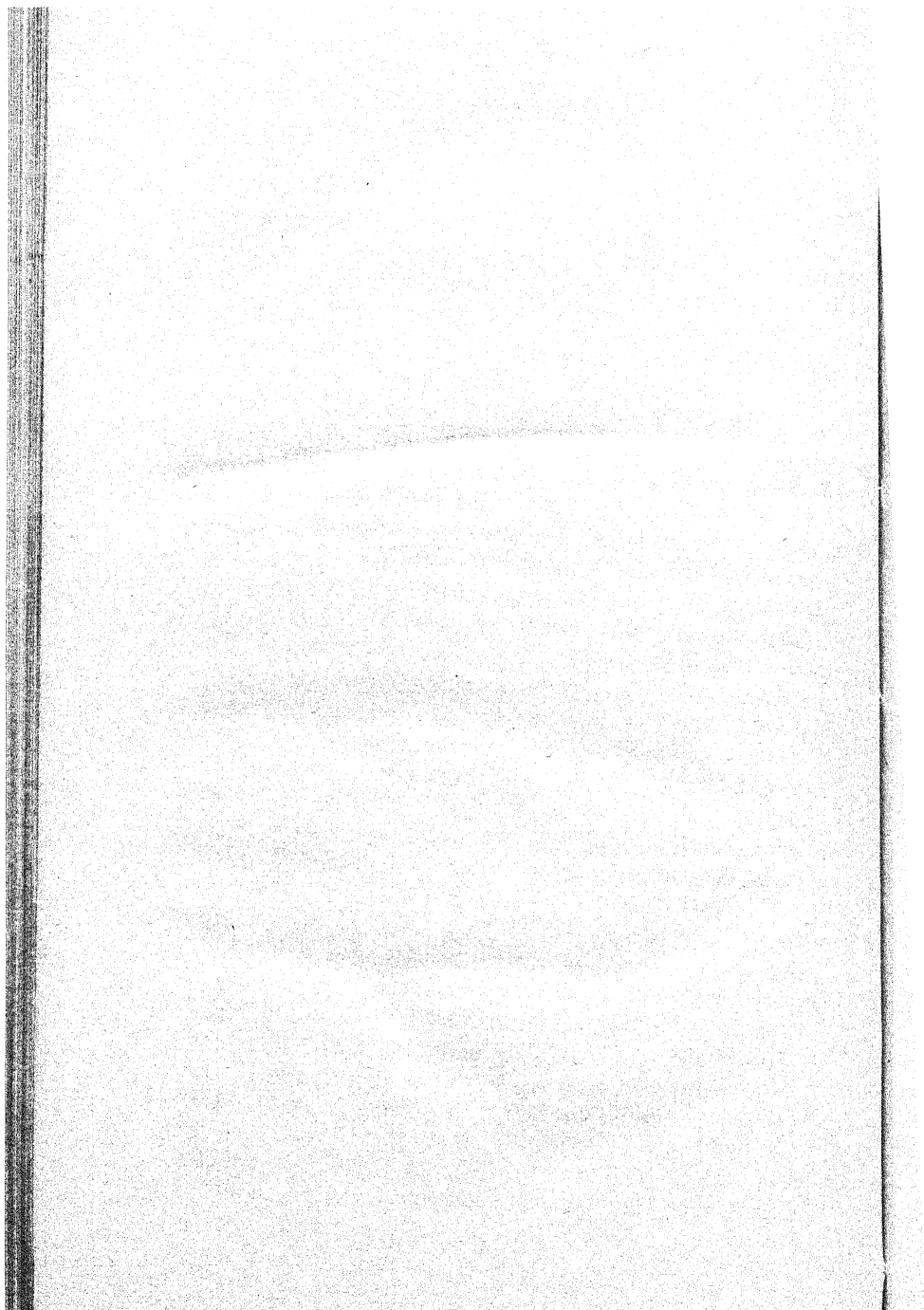


A MODEST INQUIRY, &c.

Our author has given the following account of the queen's illness, and its effect upon the state of parties:—"In the midst of these dispositions at court, the queen fell dangerously sick at Windsor, about 1713. It was confidently reported in town that she was dead, and the heads of the expecting party were said to have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the Earl of Wharton's house. Whether this were true or not, yet this much is certain, that the expressions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party; which proceeding, men of form did not allow to be altogether decent."—"The queen had early notice of this behaviour among the discontented leaders during her illness. It was, indeed, an affair of such a nature, as required no aggravation, which, however, would not have been wanting; the women of both parties,* who then attended her majesty, being well disposed to represent it in the strongest light. The result was, that the queen immediately laid aside all her schemes and visions of reconciling the two opposite interests, and entered upon a firm resolution of adhering to the old English principles, from an opinion that the adverse party waited impatiently for her death, upon views little consisting, (as the language and opinion went then,) with the safety of the constitution, either in church or state."—*An inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry*, vol. v.

There can be little doubt that the resentment of so cutting an affront sunk deep into the queen's mind; and if she ever entertained any serious thought of disappointing the succession of the house of Hanover, perhaps it may be dated from that period. At all events, she evinced, from that time, an irreconcilable dislike to the Whigs. The following tract was written by Mrs Manley, under the direction of Swift, to excite the sympathy of the public with the resentment of their sovereign.

* The queen's favour was then divided between Lady Masham and the Duchess of Somerset.



A

MODEST INQUIRY, &c.

THAT this inquiry is made by a private person, and not by her majesty's attorney general; and that such notorious offenders have met only with an expostulation, instead of an indictment; will at once be an everlasting proof of the lenity of the government, and of the unprovoked and groundless barbarity of such a proceeding. Amid the pious intercessions of her majesty's dutiful subjects at the throne of grace, for her health and recovery; that others of them should receive the news of her death with joy, and spread it with industry; will hardly appear probable to any, except to those who have been witnesses of such vile practices, not only in her majesty's capital city, but in several other places in the kingdom; not only near Charing cross, but at some market crosses: that their passion on such an occasion should prove too unruly even for the caution demanded in the belief of news still uncertain, for the severity of the laws, and for the common decency that is due to the fall even of the greatest enemy: that not only those who were sharers of the common blessings of her mild government, but such as had been warmed by its kinder influences; not only those who owed their honour,

their riches, and other superfluities, but even the necessities of life, to her bounty ; such as ate her bread, wore her raiment, and were protected under the shelter of her roof ; should not be able for a moment to stifle their eager and impatient ingratitude : that this behaviour should not only appear in those vile and detestable places which are dedicated to faction and disorder ; but that it should infect her majesty's palaces and chapels (where the accustomed devotion for her health and prosperity was derided :) these, I say, are facts that might demand a full proof, could I not appeal to their own consciences, and the uncontested evidence of credible persons.

I will, for once, suppose some foreigner, unacquainted with our temper and affairs, to be disturbed in his walks by some of the revels at Charing cross upon this occasion, or by chance to stumble into a neighbouring coffee-house : would not his curiosity prompt him to address himself to the company, after the following manner ?

“ Gentlemen, Though I am no Englishman, I rejoice as much at the fall of a tyrant as any of you. Surely this Queen Anne exceeded both Nero and Caligula in acts of cruelty. May I beg you to relate to me some particulars ? As for you, gentlemen, who express such unusual joy, no doubt but there are at this time multitudes of your relations and friends in prison ; who were to be executed the next day, if this lucky accident had not prevented it.”

Give me leave to imagine some poor disconsolate honest gentleman, at the same time, accidentally among them, thus answering this foreigner : “ Alas ! sir, this good queen, whom they now report to be dead, during a reign of twelve years,

never shed one drop of blood for any misdemeanours against herself."

For. Well, sir, allowing what you have said to be true, may not the late administration have been rendered merciful by the indulgence of those entrusted with the execution of the laws; and yet, the queen, of whom we are speaking, have been in her own nature a wicked and cruel person?

Gent. Alas! sir, quite the contrary; this excellent queen was the greatest pattern of all princely and Christian virtues that ever adorned a throne; just, patient, firm, devout, charitable, affable, compassionate, the sincerest friend, the kindest mistress, the best wife!

For. Perhaps she was of a different religion; inclined to popery, which has been for many years held in the utmost detestation in this country.

Gent. Sir, this pious princess, as she was early educated in the religion of her country, so, amid a court corrupted both in principles and manners, she gave constant proofs of her unshaken perseverance in it; and, by her unblemished life, proved as great an ornament to the church of which she was a member, as she was a steady professor of its doctrine, and constant frequenter of its devotions. To the protestant religion she sacrificed her most tender interests. * Where is that boasted patriot, who acted a more generous part for the good of his country in the most perilous times? And, since Providence set the crown upon

* Every reader must remember Queen Anne's conduct at the Revolution.

her head, in what single instance has she departed from those maxims?

For. I confess, then, I am at a loss to find out the cause of so great an exultation for the death of so excellent a princess: but it has sometimes happened, by the connivance of good monarchs, that their people have been oppressed; and that perhaps might be your case in the late reign.

Gent. So much otherwise, that no annals can produce a reign freer from oppression. Our gracious queen "never accepted the persons of the wicked, nor overthrew the righteous in judgment. Whose ox or whose ass did she take? She was always ready to relieve, but never to oppress, the poor, the fatherless, and the afflicted. Her heart was not lifted up above her brethren; nor did she turn aside from the commandment, to the right or to the left." Her compassionate mind pitied even those countries which suffered by the power of her victorious arms. Where are the least effects of the pride and cruelty of Queen Anne to be discovered? So impossible is it to brand her government with any instance of severity, that perhaps it may be more justly censured for excess of clemency; a clemency, the continuance whereof had once brought her into the utmost distress, till that tender regard, which she had always shewn for the liberties of her subjects, taught them in return to struggle as hard for the liberty of their sovereign; even for that common right of all mankind, the liberty of choosing her own servants.

For. Give me leave to make another supposition. Princes sometimes turn liberality into profusion, squander their treasure, and impoverish their people. May nothing of this kind be laid to the charge of the deceased queen?

Gent. You cannot but have heard, that, when she came to the crown, she found a dangerous war prepared for her, in which it pleased God to bless her with an unexpected success. When the purposes seemed to be answered for which it was undertaken, she thought fit to stop the vital streams of the blood and treasure of her people, and to put a period to a war, that now served only to gratify the covetousness or ambition of those she was confederated with, as well as the vast designs of a faction at home; and, with peace, to endeavour to settle such a commerce as might in some measure reimburse her subjects of the vast treasure they had expended. Alas! here is her crime; touching those points she "is now called in question" by those gentlemen. As for her own expenses, I wish they had reached as far as the necessaries and conveniencies of life, which, some can testify, she has often denied herself, that she might have to give to those who were in want. If ever her liberality exceeded its just bounds, it was to a set of men who would now use the riches they enjoy by her bounty, to insult her. Devotion and business were all the pleasures of her life: when she had any relaxation from the latter, it was only by some painful attack of the gout. The cares of government, no doubt, had prejudiced her constitution: but monsters sure are they, that can rejoice for the loss of a life worn out in their own service. I hope you will have the goodness to believe there are but few of us who deserve this infamous character. The bulk of her subjects, and many good Christians besides, in other parts of the world, are, no doubt, daily offering up their ardent prayers and vows for the preservation of so precious a life.

For. From what you have said, I readily condemn the unseasonable joy of those gentlemen; but mankind are governed by their interest. You Englishmen seldom disguise your passions. A monarch may have a thousand good qualities; but particular men, who do not feel the benign influence of them, may be tempted, perhaps, to wish for a change.

Gent. Give me leave to whisper you: That man of quality, whom you see in such an ecstasy, enjoys by her majesty's bounty one of the most advantageous places of the kingdom.—That other gentleman's coach, that stands there at the door, was bought with her majesty's money.—The laced coat, the hat and feather, that officer wears, were purchased with her pay; and you see her arms on his gorget.*—This noble person's relations have been brought from the lowest degree of gentlemen, and surfeited with riches and honours, by her majesty: so that she may truly complain, "She has nourished and brought up children, but they have rebelled against her."

For. Truly, sir, I am amazed at what you say; and yet there appears so much candour and con-

* The officers of the army, and particularly of the guards, were naturally attached to the Duke of Marlborough, and to that party which was disposed to renew the war against France. Some of these military gentlemen participated more in the joy evinced upon report of the queen's death, than was consistent with either loyalty or decency. The Duke of Ormond had a scheme for obliging ten or twelve of the most indiscreet among these officers to sell their commissions, and government was to advance L.10,000 to assist persons to purchase them who might be better affected to the queen's person. But this plan, which probably boded no good to the Hanover succession, was frustrated by the Earl of Oxford's neglecting to provide the necessary funds.—See *Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry*, vol. vi. p. 3.

fidence in your assertions, that I can hardly suspect the truth of them. I have travelled through many a desolate country, and heard the groans of many an afflicted people, who would have thought themselves blessed, if the united virtues of this lady had been parcelled out among all their governors. Those virtues of princes that most dazzle the eyes of mankind, are often dearly paid for by their people, who are forced to purchase them a place in the annals of fame at the dear price of their blood and treasure: and I believe they would seldom find fault with them for being peaceably inclined. I am a stranger; and, in such a disorderly night as this, may meet with some affront: so must bid you farewell; hoping you will find this melancholy news contradicted.

I may appeal to any impartial reader, whether there is any thing forced or unnatural in this dialogue; and then desire him to pass his judgment upon the proceedings of those who rejoiced at her death. But to return to my inquiry.

The circumstances of Queen Elizabeth much resemble those of her present majesty, with this difference, that Queen Elizabeth was forced upon many great and remarkable pieces of severity, from which it has pleased God to free her present majesty; I hope, as a particular blessing upon her reign, and indulgence to her merciful temper. Though there were many factions at that time, both of the papists and puritans, to neither of which she gave much quarter, so that her very life was often conspired against by many sets of villains among the papists; though she had no posterity to revenge her quarrels, but, on the contrary, her ministry had most reason to be afraid of the vengeance of the successor; yet she carried the respect and duty of her subjects with

her even to the grave. By the wise and close management of her ministry, her being sick of the smallpox at Hampton Court was concealed from the people till she was almost well. Had they known it, it would have been the constant subject of their devotions, as every little disorder of her's was. Whether from the fear of punishment, a regard to decency, love to their country, or the sense of their duty and allegiance, which were not extinguished in those days; none of those multitudes, which had suffered great hardships, durst mutter, or ever dreamed of showing the least malice or insolence to her, even in her old age, and the very last scene of her life: and yet she was a true friend to peace, it being her constant maxim, "That it was more glorious to prevent a war by wisdom, than to finish it by victories." When she had a mind to break off in the middle of a successful war, in which she was engaged against a more formidable power,* and a more hopeful candidate for universal monarchy, than any that has since appeared; a war that was managed without the help of destructive funds, and large issues of English treasures to foreign states; a war that was carried on with the proper force of the nation, viz. their fleets, and rather served to bring in great quantities of bullion, than to carry it out: I say, when she had a mind to make peace, I do not hear that every little retailer of politics presumed to tell her, that it was not yet time to lay down her arms; that Spain was not yet sufficiently reduced; that the balance of Europe was not perfectly settled. Indeed, her captain general for that war seemed to reason at

* Spain.

the council board with too much warmth for the continuance of it ; but I do not hear that her lord treasurer was disgraced for advertising him at that time, " that the blood-thirsty man should not live half his days ; * a prophecy but too truly verified. When she resolved to bring down the haughty spirit of that great man, I do not read that many people soothed him in his ambitious projects ; except his flatterers, Blunt and Cuffe, to whom he spoke these remarkable words upon the scaffold : " Ask pardon of God and the queen ; for you were the persons that chiefly provoked me to this disloyalty." And happy had it been for him, had he hearkened to the lord keeper, who advised him to submit to the queen his sovereign, and to remember that passage of Seneca : " If the law punish one who is guilty, he must submit to justice ; if one who is innocent, he must submit to fortune."

I do not find one single address from either house of parliament, advising Queen Elizabeth to vest her captain general in the Low Countries with more power. On the contrary, it is recorded to her lasting honour, that she wrote to him, " to allay his aspirings ; that she admired how a man whom she had raised out of the dust should so contemptuously violate her commands ; desiring the States to divest him of that absolute authority, to which she had set such bounds as he should not pass." †

* A speech which Burleigh is said to have made to Essex.—The parallel between these two great men, and Oxford and Marlborough, is obvious.

† Queen Elizabeth was much more alarmed than pleased by the exuberant power with which the States, thinking to flatter her

When this prudent queen had demanded and obtained from the Dutch the town of Flushing, castle of Ramekins, and the isle of Brill, to be surrendered to her as cautionary for repayment of the sums she might expend in their service, I do not find any Englishman at that time pleading the cause of the distressed provinces, (which then indeed was allowed to be a proper style,) complaining of the narrowness of their frontier, and remonstrating against this as a hard bargain: nor do I remember that her successor was thanked by the nation for giving up those cautionary towns, which she thought as safe in her own hands as in those of the best of her allies.*

This excellent queen was sometimes, indeed, attacked with pamphlets: particularly by one, entitled, "The Gulf wherein England will be swallowed by the French Marriage:" for which, Stubs† and Page, (the one the author, the other the disperser,) lost each their right hand. And, to show that men in those days had both a sense of their duty and their guilt, when Stubs had his right hand cut off, he immediately uncovered his head with the other, and cried, "God save the queen!" I never read that, during the time of

partiality for Leicester, invested that nobleman. And she lost no time in rebuking him for accepting, and them for bestowing on him, a sort of supreme authority.

* King James's resignation of these cautionary towns has always been considered as a great blot in his reign.

† John Stubs, of Lincoln's Inn, gent. a most rigid puritan, author of "A Discovery of a gaping Gulf for England by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the Banns, by letting her Majesty Queen Elizabeth see the Sin, &c. thereof;" printed 1579, 8vo. See Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1581.

the execution, they were protected by a mob of chimney-sweepers hired by their partisans.*

What cause shall we then assign of this tumultuous and excessive joy of the party: their industry to spread, and their eagerness to believe, what they so much wished? Were all the glories and blessings of Queen Anne's reign so soon to be forgotten? Were their protestations of loyalty and affection nothing else but petitions for preferment? or did they proceed only from the fear of Newgate and Tyburn? Might not all her cares and labours that, (in her circumstances,) could have no other end but the welfare of her people, have deserved one pitying tear? Could not even (allowing their own supposition,) her mistaken zeal for restoring the peace and commerce of her subjects, her tenderness to their exhausted purses, and her care to transmit their liberties safe to posterity, plead for one relenting thought? Might not some regard have been paid to her personal virtues, and to the rare example she has left behind her, of the constant practice of all Christian duties amid the grandeur and temptations of a court? No! All these things, it seems, were to be the subject of mirth, ridicule, and of the songs of drunkards; and the death of the noble, the pious, the fortunate Queen Anne, our countrywoman, flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone, † was to be celebrated as a festival of joy!

And is the death then of this excellent princess

* Something of this kind took place when Redpath underwent the punishment of the pillory, for passages in his Flying Post, construed as reflecting upon the queen and the peace with France.

† In these words lurk an allusion to the foreign race which was to succeed her.

become so absolutely necessary at this time for the welfare of her people? I should rather imagine, even allowing their fears and jealousies to be well founded, that some degrees of prudence, temper, and tenderness for their fellow-subjects, might induce them to reason after the following manner :

“ That it is good to put an evil day far off ; that none can be more terrible than that which brings confusion, disorder, and perhaps a civil war ; that Providence may find a way to disappoint our fears. It is possible the spirit of faction may abate, and that even these formidable enemies of the succession may vanish, or return to a sense of their duty and danger : that France may fall under the government of a minor, and have business enough at home ; nay, it is possible, the pretender himself may die before her present majesty : and, considering the changeable condition of British affairs, it is not improbable that the whigs may recover their credit, both at court and in the country ; and then to be sure all things must go well. Nay, who can tell but that the successors may think it their interest to be kings of Britain, rather than kings of the whigs ? ” All or any one of those things are fully as probable as that the queen, lords, and commons, should agree to alter the present establishment ; and much more so than that her present majesty should divest herself of her crown and dignity in favour of a popish successor. Let her live then ; and let us still hope, that Providence, which has honoured her to be the instrument of great blessings as well to Europe as her own people, may continue to do so still. How short and obscure are the views of mankind, when they look into futurity ! We are at least as often obliged to Providence for deny-

ing, as for granting, what we most earnestly desire. Out of respect to my country, I would fain believe the number of such miscreants to be but few. What would all the rest of the world think of us else? Would not they look upon us as the most ungrateful, factious, fickle race of mortals under the sun? Histories are full of the dismal effects of the government of tyrannical princes, and of their fatal ends; and they are justly set up as beacons, to warn others of the same rank, from the rocks and shelves whereon they have split. ~~But are there no memoirs of the undutifulness of subjects, and the fatal consequences of their factious and ungovernable tempers?~~ I am afraid, the general current of history will inform us, that tyrannical princes have been more punctually obeyed than the good and the merciful. Princes read history, as well as subjects. They are quick-sighted enough to make inferences to justify, what they are but too much inclined to, the undue exercise of their power. "Is it not plain," say they, "that monarchs too often suffer by their indulgence? that the rigorous exercise of power is the only foundation of obedience? To what purpose then is it to court the fallacious breath of the changeable multitude?" I am afraid too many of them reason after this manner; and that the tyranny of bad princes is often founded upon the misbehaviour of subjects to good ones. Let such, therefore, consider what misery their factious and disobedient temper may bring upon their posterity, not only from the direct influence and tendency of it, but also by the appointment of divine Providence.

For shame, then, let us not verify the description which the ambassador made of us; who, being desired by his master to give a character of

the English nation, as a full answer to his demand, presented him with a medal; on the one side of which the English monarch was pictured as a lion, and all his people about him like lambs; and, on the reverse, the monarch like a lamb, and all the people like lions.*

Let us now proceed to guess at the source of this unseasonable exultation. I begin with the common cant of the whole party, the fear of a popish successor and popery. The loss of the Duke of Gloucester, and the want of hopes of posterity from her present majesty, are misfortunes never enough to be lamented: but is it not a very ungenerous way of proceeding, instead of comforting and supporting their prince under this calamity, to insult and despise her for it? to multiply their affronts and indignities, because she wants posterity, who might possibly revenge them? May such ignoble and base sentiments be far from the thoughts of every true-hearted Briton! and may He, who has commanded us "not to add affliction to the afflicted,"† never avenge such inhuman and unjust dealings! But still I am to seek how the fear of a popish successor should operate in joy for the death of a protestant possessor! This appears no less unaccountable than other parts of their system of politics; a short view of which seems to be this:

That the protestant succession is in the utmost danger.

* I believe some such story is told of the celebrated Gondamere.

† Queen Anne was most deeply afflicted by the death of her only son, the Duke of Gloucester. The Duchess of Marlborough assures us, that, after that event, she always subscribed herself, in their private correspondence, "your *unfortunate* Morley!"

That, in order to strengthen it, a bad understanding must be kept up between the successor and her present majesty, the ministry, and all who are vested with power and authority in the nation.

For this end, the successor must be persuaded that those are his mortal enemies; and the ministry, on the other hand, must be told, that he is coming to hang them all up.

That they hope the ministry are firm friends to the pretender; that they ought to be so, having no other game to play; and that they should be sorry to find them otherwise inclined.

That, at this moment, the queen is expiring; and the guards gone down as far as Dover to meet the pretender. Now rejoice, all true-hearted whigs, at the happy prospect of the glorious scene that discloses itself for Great Britain!

From these premises, I think, it will be very hard for the most sagacious man alive to infer, which of three things is most in favour with these gentlemen who are so transported; viz. whether the protestant successor, the pretender, or confusion? I think, so far is plain, that either their suspicion of the danger of the protestant succession is counterfeited, or that they are for one of the other. And indeed what can one gather from their mad and extravagant discourse, but that it is all grimace? "Popery is breaking in like a torrent. Mass will be quickly said in churches. Clergymen's wives are taking their last leave of their husbands," &c. Good God! that ever I should live to see the protestant cause abandoned by a queen (who has sacrificed for the sake of it what was perhaps dearer than her life,) by the nobility, clergy, and gentry, of the nation; and the sole defence of it left to Ridpath, Dick Steele, and their associates,

with the apostles of Young Man's coffee-house. Before I leave this head, I would desire these gentlemen, who are constantly making such malicious insinuations against men of honour and probity, to remember, the oath of abjuration (what they so often quote, and what every honest man will keep) contains faith and true allegiance to their present sovereign, in as strong terms as the renunciation of the pretender; and that he, who violates the first part of the oath, gives but a small security for his observation of the latter, unless they think that which was last swallowed must be always uppermost.*

Another cause of their joy upon the spreading of this false news is, their discontent at the peace. And in this indeed the queen has reason to rejoice, that has no enemies but such as are enemies to peace. But is not the hopes of a new war an admirable subject for joy, a most endearing token of their love to the successor, and one of their new methods of keeping up his interest, to represent him to the people as bringing over war in his train! It is foreign to my present purpose to enter into a full discussion of this subject; but the quarrelling with the peace, because it is not exactly to our mind, seems as if one that had put out a great fire, should be sued by the neighbourhood for some lost goods, or damaged houses; which happened, say they, by his making too much haste. Let me advise them in general, not to disrelish blessings because they may want some ingredients, which their extravagant and sickly appetites seem to demand; to leave some part of

* The same argument is sarcastically urged by Swift against Bishop Burnet.

the government of the world to its Maker, and not to believe that he is confined to the narrow maxims of every whimsical politician; not to think it impossible, that the same powers that have restored the balance of Europe, in opposition to so great a force, are able to preserve it; and that we have no reason to be in such mighty dread of a nation now impoverished and dispirited (and probably in the eve of a long minority, with all the confusion that attends it,) whom we have ~~humbled in all its pomp and glory.~~

May I presume to descend from those high topics, and to suppose that the sublime and public spirit of these patriots may have a little alloy of a baser passion; and that self-interest had some share in this extraordinary festival? Far be it from me to deny them the due use of so humane a passion! Let the hopes of seeing better days produce a secret satisfaction: but may they not be so affected, without being brutal and barbarous? They might have enjoyed the pleasant prospect of the approaching favours of the new monarch, without insulting the ashes of the dead. May that reign be glorious and happy! But I shall always believe, that insulting the memory of her present majesty will be understood as an ill compliment to her successor. The fatal event of her death, it is true, put an end to their allegiance: but not to the obligations to decency and gratitude. I have heard that allegiance and protection are reciprocal; but never that allegiance and preferment were so. If this principle be admitted, we need go no farther for the list of her majesty's good subjects, than Chamberlayne's "Present State of Britain."* But even in this particular the rejo-

* Or, as we would now say, to the "Red Book."

cing party have, of all mankind, the least reason to complain, whose present insolence and pride are the creatures of her majesty's bounty and indulgence; who have no other grievance, that I know of, than, when they have "taken our cloak, that we will not give them our coat also." And even under this ministry, the opposite party, who are loud in their complaints and reviling against it, may appear, upon a right computation, to have their quota of all the offices of the kingdom. Let them for once show their modesty, and not grudge the nation the little that is left; and since they have so great a share in possession, and think themselves sure of all in reversion, suffer the poor tories to hold their part during the period of the queen's life.

There remains still another cause, which I am afraid operates as strongly as any of those already mentioned: it is a common observation, that the offended party often forgives; but the offending party seldom. It is one of the corrupt sentiments of the heart of man, to hate one the more for having used them ill; and to wish those out of the way, who, we believe, ought in justice to revenge the injuries we have done them. I leave the application to themselves.

Thus, I think, I have briefly enumerated the causes of their joy; viz.

A prospect of a new foreign war;

A fair chance for a civil war;

The expectation of the monopoly of the government;

The hopes of having the tories all hanged; and,

Their consciousness that they ought to be so themselves.

At the same time, far be it from me to charge all who are called by the name of whigs with such

villainous inclinations and designs ; among whom, I know, there are many worthy and excellent persons. I would not willingly be guilty of a breach of charity, which I could wish all parties were possessed of in a greater measure. I would have every body, who is conscious of his guilt in any of the forementioned particulars, to reflect seriously upon what I have hinted at ; both those who " cursed the queen in their heart," and those who " cursed her" in the open streets ; but, of all others, ~~their guilt is of the deepest dye,~~ who have personal obligations to her majesty. For my part, it was with the utmost detestation that I observed some, who owed much to his late majesty King William, treat his memory with scorn and indifference. Gratitude, as much despised and disused as it is, will ever continue to be a reputable virtue, as long as mankind live in society ; nay, even if they should return to the woods.

The melancholy occasion of her majesty's sickness had this in common with other ill accidents ; that some advantage could be made of it, in discovering the impotent malice and factious purposes of some, who would otherwise have been more cautious in disguising their inclinations, till they believed they might discover them with safety, and thereby make a merit with the more abandoned part of the faction. * God be thanked, her majesty wants not those faithful subjects, who will defend both her person and reputation against the

* It is a very remarkable circumstance that the public funds rose considerably on the report of the queen's death, and immediately sunk again on her recovery. Stocks rose in like manner when her majesty's decease actually happened. See Mr Ford's Letter of August 5, 1714.—N.

felonious attempts of such impious wretches, and who would serve her in the last moments of her life with as much fidelity and zeal, as if she had twenty sons and daughters to inherit after her. Her times are in the hands of that Almighty Being whose minister she is, and in whom she comfortably puts her trust ; who will not shorten the period of her life one moment, for all the impatient curiosity of those people who are daily inquiring, " When will she die ? " So long as they keep off their hands, let them wish as much as they think fit ; and, when it shall please God to give her the happy change of an earthly for a heavenly crown, let this be written upon her tomb : " That, in compassion to the miseries of Europe, and the sufferings of her own subjects, after a bloody and expensive war, which had lasted twenty years, she concluded a peace ; and, that she might transmit the liberties of her people safe to posterity, she disbanded her army, by which glorious achievement she acquired the hatred of a faction, who were fond of war, that they might plunder their fellow subjects at pleasure ; and of an army, that they might do this with impunity."

END OF VOLUME SIXTH.